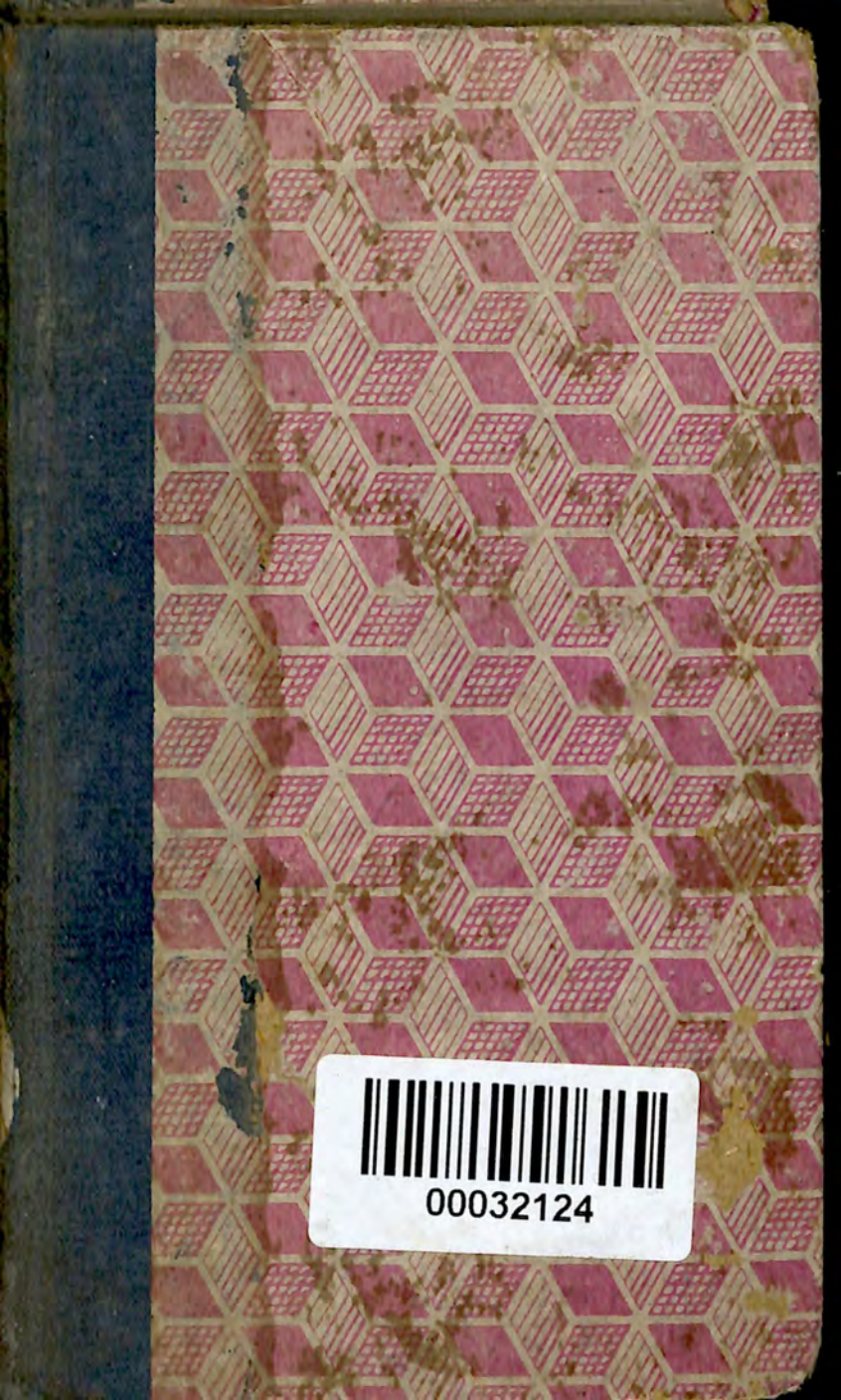
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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF THE ROMANS TILL THE UNION WITH ENGLAND:

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY NARRATIVE OF

THE REBELLION IN 1715 AND 1745:

Together with

SKETCHES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF

The Scots,

THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION AND LITERATURE,
AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES,
AND COMMERCE.

With Six Hundred Questions as Exercises.

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BY

DANIEL MACINTOSH.

THE SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED.

London:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
VAUGH AND INNES, EDINBURGH; AND J. H. BAXTER, DUNDEE.

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Advertisement.

The utility of historical abridgments is generally acknowledged. When judiciously executed, they comprehend in a small space all that is necessary to be remembered, or is essentially useful. For the generality of readers, who think a moderate share of history sufficient for the purposes of life, and for young persons engaged in laying a foundation for future study, the series of the Scottish histories is too voluminous.

Of the few abridgments of our history that have hitherto appeared, it might be considered invidious to remark, that they possess little merit or reputation: But candour will admit, that they are either mere epitomes of larger works, or that they consist of incidents injudiciously selected, unskilfully arranged, and, in many instances, of doubtful authenticity. These considerations have suggested the compilation of the work now submitted to the public.

So far as the limits of his abridgment would admit, the compiler has endeavoured to exhibit a brief and comprehensive outline of the history of Scotland, with an accurate and consecutive view of its leading events; to trace their causes and consequences; and to combine with the relation of facts a view of the policy of the actors.

The application of science and philosophy to the study of facts is philosophy teaching by examples: History therefore becomes the school of instruction, by illustrating the precepts of philosophy and virtue.

The compiler has attempted to mark the advancement of knowledge,—by tracing the progress of the arts and sciences, religion, laws, government, and manners,—in occasional digressions and in the Supplementary Sketches. The history of Scottish literature is important and interesting, and forms a material part of the Supplement.

Notwithstanding much labour and care, the compiler is sensible that his history has many defects,—unavoidable

perhaps in an elementary work upon a subject so extensive and complex, and which has not yet obtained, in larger works, a consistent and unexceptionable form.

In a work which makes no pretensions to originality, it is unnecessary to apologize for the freedom with which the compiler has availed himself of the labours of others. He is chiefly indebted to the works of Chalmers, Lord Hailes, Pinkerton, Robertson, Laing, Hume and Smollett, Russel, M'Crie, and Cook. For the Supplementary Articles, he has consulted the Chevalier de Johnstone's and Home's histories of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746; Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets; M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville; the Edinburgh Encyclopedia; the Edinburgh Review; Macpherson's Annals of Commerce; and the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica.

A series of Questions, as exercises, has been annexed, agreeably to the wishes of preceptors who are partial to a prescribed form of interrogatories.

Dundee, August 1821.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION.

This Second Edition has been carefully revised and considerably enlarged,—to supersede, as far as possible, the necessity of future alterations.

The compiler avails himself of this occasion to express his satisfaction with the indulgence and favour which his work has received,—particularly in some of the most respectable seminaries in the United Kingdom.

Dundee, October 1822.

Introduction.

The earliest period of the history of Scotland is involved in obscurity. The authentic information which we possess is derived from the Roman writers, who recorded the achievements of their countrymen in their hostile operations against the untutored but brave Caledonians.

The first historical chronicles were compiled by the monks, chiefly from oral tradition. It is probable that these chroniclers derived a considerable portion of their information from an order of poetical historians that were maintained by the Scottish monarchs and chieftains of distinction; and that recited, upon public occasions, the genealogy of their lieges, and recounted the exploits of their ancestors.

Bede, an English monk of very superior learning, wrote, about the beginning of the eighth century, an ecclesiastical history of Britain. In that work, the transactions of the Scots and Picts are incidentally noticed. The records of the Scottish kings, and probably the existing historical fragments, were deposited in the monastery of Icolmkill, till the reign of Malcolm Canmore.

At a subsequent period, the ecclesiastics of Melrose, Paisley, St Andrew's, and of other religious establishments, compiled and multiplied histories of their country.

The oldest history of Scotland extant, is of a comparatively recent date: It is the production of John Fordun, a canon of Aberdeen; who flourished about the end of the fourteenth century. The first five books and twenty-three chapters of the sixth book of the "Scotichronicon," are the composition of this simple but venerable writer. The remainder of this work, which extends to sixteen books, was composed by Walter Bower, abbot of St Colm, in the beginning of the fifteenth century. He transcribed the work of Fordun, but inserted large interpolations. The Scotichronicon extends to the death of James the First. It is inferior to the original histories of several other countries of modern Europe; the Latin is scholastic and barbarous; and, in the essential qualities of genuine history, the work is very deficient.

Andrew Winton, prior of Lochleven, composed his metrical "Cronykil of Scotland" about the same time that Bower wrote. His work indicates a competent share of credulity and superstition; yet he is a more judicious writer than Fordun or Bower.

John Mair, a celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne, after having studied at Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris, was appointed principal of St Salvator's College, St Andrew's. His six books "De Gestis Scotorum"

were published at Paris in 1521. Mair has been particularly characterized as a historian more studious of truth than of eloquence.

About the same time, Hector Boece, a man of genius and an accomplished scholar, published his history at Paris. Though one of the most elegant Latinists his country can boast, his work abounds with fiction. Several of the authors on whom he professes to rely have been demonstrated to be supposititious.

Dr John Lesly, the celebrated Bishop of Ross, an accomplished scholar and a man of enlarged experience, published his history of Scotland, at Rome, in 1578. His work is esteemed both useful and elegant. Though, in writing the earlier part of our annals, he has been chiefly guided by the narrative of Boece, his materials for the latter part are authentic and valuable.

Buchanan's history was published at Edinburgh in 1582. No modern ever made a nearer approach to the genuine spirit of the ancients than this writer has done. The composition of his work reflects the highest honour on the literature of his country; but the accuracy of his statements is in many instances questionable.

John Spottiswoode, archbishop of St Andrew's and chancellor of Scotland, wrote the history of the church of Scotland, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. To eminent candour he united a considerable portion of critical sagacity. His work is deemed equal to any historical composition that had hitherto appeared in the English language.

About the same time, Drummond of Hawthornden wrote a history of the first five Jameses; "a work," says Campbell, "abounding with false eloquence and slavish principles."

An Herculean work remained to be performed—to separate from the authentic history the mass of fiction with which it was blended, and which had been accumulating for ages. That labour has been very successfully performed. Father Innes, of the Sorbonne, in his "Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland," a work of learning and importance, explored the antiquities of his native country with a more rational spirit of criticism than any of his predecessors.

The indefatigable and laborious researches of Chalmers, and the diligence and discrimination of Lord Hailes, who have carried into the obscurity of Scottish antiquities the torch of severe but judicious criticism, have dispelled the darkness which so long overhung the early period of Scottish history. It is to be regretted that the learned judge abandoned the design of writing a continuation of the "Annals of Scotland." A history of the first five Jameses, executed with ability and taste, seems to be a desideratum in Scottish literature.

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ERRATA.

Page 107 line 7, for "writing sermons and conferences" read "writing, sermons, and conferences."

.... 108 ... 35, for "prescription" read "proscription."

.... 231 ... 12, for "noblemen" read "nobleman."

.... 391 ... 20, for "3600/." read "3600."

History of Scotland.

BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

The aborigines of Britain of Celtic origin—passed over from Gaul—memory of a common origin long preserved. The Romans invade Britain—penetrate into Caledonia—defeat the natives—discover Britain to be an island. Policy of Agricola—his recall and death.

It is probable that the aborigines of Britain were a colony of the Celtæ, who are generally admitted to have been the first inhabitants of Europe. The original impulse which had been given to mankind, after the Deluge, colonized the British isles during the succeeding ages, while only one race of men existed in Europe, and before a second impulse had induced another migration of the Asiatic tribes.

As, during those early ages, the current of civilization flowed from east to west, and as the islands were necessarily peopled from the neighbouring continents, the aborigines of Britain must have passed over from Gaul. From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved for many ages, in the perpetual resemblance of language, religion, and manners; and the peculiar character of the British tribes may be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental and local circumstances.

South Britain was invaded by the Romans, fifty-five years before the Christian æra. Cæsar and Tacitus corroborate the identity of the religion, the manners, and the language of Gaul and Britain at that period.

North Britain, or Caledonia, was invaded by the Romans about one hundred and thirty years after their arrival in

England. Caledonia, in its most extensive acceptation, extended from the rivers Tweed and Eden on the south, to the extremity of Caithness on the north; but Caledonia Proper comprehended the countries of Stratherne, Argyll, Breadalbane, Atholl, and Perth. The name was probably derived from a great wood that covered the hills of these districts; and which is supposed to have begun a little north of Stirling, and, passing through Monteith and Stratherne, to have extended as far as Atholl on the one side and Lochaber on the other.

Agricola assumed the command of the Roman forces in Britain in the seventy-eighth year of the Christian æra; and, in two years after, entered Caledonia by marching along the Western coast. The Caledonians, at this period, were barbarous and ignorant, living in rude huts, and subsisting on prey and venison, the bark and roots of trees. They went entirely naked, and female chastity was unknown. They were divided into twenty-one distinct and independent tribes. In their persons they were robust, and very courageous in war; their infantry were distinguished for swiftness and agility; their armour consisted of a spear, a shield, and a short dagger; their cavalry, if it deserves the name, consisted of small, swift, and spirited horses. Like the South Britons, they sometimes used cars or chariots in battle. Inured to domestic war, the Caledonians were constitutionally brave; but the greatest efforts of their untutored valour proved unavailing when opposed to the superior discipline of the Romans and the consummate skill of their general.

According to the Roman historian Tacitus, Agricola, during his fourth campaign, explored and overran the mountainous region extending from the Solway to the Friths of Forth and Clyde. Having observed that the island is deeply indented by these, he drew a line of military stations across the isthmus, with the view of shutting up the hostile tribes of the North as in another island; and, to secure the conquests he had made, he employed himself, during the fifth campaign, in receiving the submission of the refractory tribes of the West, and establishing military posts among them.

The Romans had hitherto contended with detached bodies of Caledonians, who were disunited by their policy, and hostile to each other from their predatory habits. Alarmed by a sense of their common danger, they formed a general confederacy, and solemnly ratified their union by sacrifices: They sent their wives and children into places of safety, and magnanimously resolved to defend their country.

Agricola had conveyed his army across the Forth by means of his gallies, and advanced as far as Lochleven, when one of his detachments was attacked and struck with terror, by the daring intrepidity of the natives. But the advantage they gained by such desultory efforts did not deter the Roman general from pursuing his operations with unabated vigour. He spent the winter in Fife; where, by means of his fleet, he maintained a communication with the garrisons in the South, and was plentifully supplied with provisions.

A. D. 84. In the opening of the spring, he prepared to pursue the Caledonians to their retreat in the North, and strike a decisive blow. He entered Strathmore through the opening of the Ochill Hills which forms Glenеagles, and passed between Blackford and Auchterarder, toward the Grampian Hills; where the Caledonians, to the number of thirty thousand, under the renowned Galgacus, were posted to receive him. A sanguinary engagement ensued; but the Roman discipline prevailed. The vanquished natives retired to the more distant recesses of their impervious country, and preserved their wild independence; for which they were not less indebted to their poverty than to their valour. They frequently made incursions, which were repelled and chastised; but they were never totally subdued. The masters of the fairest and most wealthy portions of the globe, turned with contempt from lakes covered with blue mist, and from bleak and dreary heaths, over which the deer of the forest were chased by a troop of naked barbarians.

Having obtained hostages from the conquered tribes, the victorious general retired into winter-quarters on the south of the Frith. In order to discover whether Britain was an island or part of a continent, and probably with a view of intimidating the natives, he commanded his gallies to sail northward by the eastern shores. These orders were successfully executed. The mariners, venturing to explore an unknown and dangerous ocean, displayed the arms of Rome round every part of the island. It was Agricola's design to complete and insure his success by the reduction of Ireland, which might be improved into a valuable possession; and the Britons and Caledonians would wear their fetters with less reluctance, if the prospect and example of freedom were on every side removed from before their eyes.

A. D. 85. This rational, though extensive scheme of conquest, was rendered abortive by the removal of Agricola from the government of Britain. The fame of his exploits secretly excited the jealousy of his master Domitian; who recalled

his faithful servant from the theatre of his conquests, on the plausible but insincere pretence of honouring and promoting him. The general survived his misfortunes and disgrace but eight years, and died of disappointment.

CHAPTER II.

Adrian visits Britain—erects the Picts' Wall. Lollius Urbicus builds the Northern Wall. Roman Causeways. Caledonians pass the Northern Wall—are repulsed. Severus conducts an army into Caledonia—his disasters. Peace. Death of Severus. Caracalla concludes peace. Policy of the Caledonians—their religion.

For thirty years after the recall of Agricola, the Roman historians are silent in regard to the affairs of Britain. The British and Caledonian tribes, deriving confidence from the inactivity of the Romans, and the absence of some of their legions during Adrian's wars with the Jews, were provoked to insurrection by the misgovernment of the haughty Prætors.

A. D. 121. The Emperor Adrian visited Britain in person, to correct the abuses of his deputies, and restore tranquillity. The better to secure the frontiers of the empire, he built a rampart between the Frith of Solway and the river Tyne. This fence, known by the name of the Picts' Wall, was upwards of seventy miles in length. It was twelve feet high, eight feet thick, and had a ditch in front. It has been erroneously supposed, from the erection of this wall, that Adrian meant to relinquish the conquests of Agricola in Caledonia: But the Emperor's policy was to provide a security against the attacks of the refractory tribes in the South, who could not be overawed or restrained by the military posts between the Friths of Forth and Clyde.

A. D. 138. Upon the death of Adrian, the Emperor Antoninus assumed the purple. He appointed as his lieutenant in Britain, Lollius Urbicus,—who possessed the qualifications of a magistrate as well as the abilities of a general. It was

A. D. 140. during the government of Urbicus that the second Roman Wall was erected, which extended from Carron on the Forth to Dunglass upon the Clyde. Its total length was sixty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty yards, its height twenty feet, and its thickness twenty-four feet. It was built of turf, on foundations of stone. A ditch forty feet wide and twenty in depth ran parallel to the wall on the north or outside; a broad well-paved military causeway, which was parallel to the wall on the south side, was con-

structed for the convenience of the soldiers, to form an easy communication between the military stations.

This stupendous rampart was defended by nineteen forts. At the eastern extremity, a small circular temple was erected, and dedicated, as is supposed, to the god Terminus. The wall was obviously intended to overawe the tribes that lived on the south side, as well as to repel the incursions of the Northern Caledonians. The same policy which suggested the expediency of erecting such a formidable barrier along the course of Agricola's military stations, suggested the necessity of constructing roads and fixing stations throughout the Roman territories in Britain.

One of the most striking monuments of the Roman power and laborious perseverance, was the construction of the extensive causeways, which, by traversing the conquered provinces, rendered the communication with every part easy and expeditious to the Roman soldiers, and supported their authority. The whole extent of territory that lay between the Walls of Adrian and Antoninus, was everywhere intersected by Roman roads. But it is doubtful whether the country between the Northern Wall and the Murray Frith was formally erected into a Roman province; though it was traversed by roads of communication and overawed by military stations.

A. D. 161. Lollius Urbicus was removed from the government of Britain in consequence of the death of Antoninus Pius. So effectually had the Caledonians been restrained by his vigorous but beneficent policy, that, during his administration, and for several years after his removal, no insurrections took place. But the natives, impatient of restraint, began to manifest a disposition to revolt. Calphurnius Agricola being sent into Britain, enforced submission and restored tranquillity. The Romans, finding their conquests in Caledonia neither useful nor agreeable, were disposed to contract the limits of the empire; and, during the reign of the Emperor Aurelian, A. D. 170. their troops evacuated the military stations beyond the Wall of Antoninus.

Eager to recover unrestrained liberty, and thirsting for revenge, the Caledonians, during the misrule of the Emperor Commodus, passed the Northern Wall and ravaged the open country: But being attacked by Marcellus, the governor of South Britain, they hastily retraced their steps and retired to the mountains. In repelling these predatory incursions, the Romans derived neither advantage nor glory: They therefore concluded a treaty with their turbulent neighbours, in

the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Severus; but as the treaty was dictated by the necessities of the hostile parties, it was broken as soon as either side could renew hostilities with the probability of success.

Peace continued only seven years. Severus was not displeased at the renewal of the war, which he determined to conduct in person. Notwithstanding his advanced age, and his bodily infirmities, which obliged him to be transported in a litter, he set out for Britain, attended by his two sons, his A. D. 209. whole court, and a formidable army. Upon his arrival, he repaired or rebuilt the Wall of Adrian, which had become ruinous by neglect and decay, in order to protect his retreat in case of accidents. He speedily passed the Northern Wall, and penetrated into the country of the Caledonians, without meeting an enemy: But the coldness of the climate, and the severity of a winter march across the hills and morasses of North Britain, and probably the neglect of obtaining regular supplies by means of his fleet, are reported to have cost the Romans fifty thousand men.

Unable to oppose the obstinate attack of the Romans, the fugitive Caledonians were compelled to sue for peace, to surrender a part of their arms and a considerable portion of their territory. The Emperor then retired beyond the Wall of Adrian. His achievements in Caledonia procured him at Rome the title of *Imperator*.

No sooner had he retired, than the untractable barbarians, regardless of the obligation of a treaty, renewed hostilities. Their restless spirit so provoked Severus, that he sent another army into their country, under his son Caracalla, with orders to extirpate them. But Caracalla had other objects in view: Being deeply engaged in criminal designs against his father and his brother, the execution of his sanguinary instructions was delayed, and subsequently abandoned; for Severus died A. D. 211. at York, shortly after, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

It is doubtful whether Caracalla ever fought with the heroes of Ossian on the banks of the Carron. It is certain that the language of the Caledonian Bard was not the vernacular tongue of the Caledonians, for three centuries after the death of Severus: But if we may indulge the pleasing supposition that Fingal lived and Ossian sang, the parallel between the Romans and the Caledonians would exhibit little to the advantage of the former. The contrast is painfully amusing: The unrelenting revenge of Severus, with the generous clemency of Fingal—the timid, the brutal cruelty of Caracalla,

with the bravery, the tenderness, the elegant genius of Ossian—the mercenary chiefs, who, from motives of interest or fear, served under the Imperial command, with the free-born warriors who started to arms at the voice of the King of Morven—the degenerate Romans, polluted with the mean vices of wealth and luxury, with the untutored Caledonians, glowing with the warm dictates of nature.

Upon the demise of Severus, his eldest son Caracalla concluded a treaty with the Caledonians, by which he relinquished the territories they had recently surrendered to his father; and he abandoned the forts which had been erected to enforce their submission. The Wall of Antoninus was to be the northern boundary of the Romans. For about a century after this period, the Caledonian tribes remained quiet; and they appear to have profited by their intercourse with their late masters; for, during this long interval of peace, they cut down woods, drained marshes, introduced agriculture, constructed, or, more probably, repaired the Roman highways, and built several towns.

The policy of the Caledonians appears to have been less influenced by law than by religion. The form of worship which had long existed in Britain was Druidism. Wherever the Celtic tribes, or posterity of Japhet, migrated, they introduced and practised this religion: It was of equal extent with the dominion of the Gauls,—reaching from the river Danube to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the Mediterranean to the Baltic Sea.

The time when the Druid priesthood was instituted is unknown. It probably rose from obscure and low beginnings; and acquired from time and the labours of able men a form by which it extended itself so far and attained so mighty an influence over the minds of a fierce and otherwise ungovernable people.

The Druids were divided into three orders: The Bards, who sang or recited in heroic verse the exploits of the warriors; the Vates, who were employed in the study of nature and the laws; and the Druids, the highest order, who officiated in the ceremonies of religion, presided in the administration of justice, and directed the education of the youth in arms. These several orders were highly privileged. They were exempted from serving in wars and from all public burdens. Allured by these privileges, great numbers of both sexes joined their communities, to be initiated in the Druidical profession; though the preparatory studies frequently employed the space of twenty years.

The female Druids were in no less esteem for their knowledge and sanctity than the men. All these orders were subordinate to a chief or arch-Druid, who was elected to his high office, with great authority and preëminence, for life.

The tenets of Druidism were comprehended under four heads: To worship the Deity; to abstain from evil; to cherish the love of liberty; to exert courage in its defence; and to believe in a future state for enforcing these virtues. Their worship was expressed in songs of praise and thanksgiving, in prayers and supplications, in offerings and sacrifices, and in the rites of augury and divination.

The Sun being the object or medium of their worship, it was an article of their faith not to build temples to the Deity, or worship within walls or under roofs. Their oratories or groves were in the recesses of forests, and were fenced in, in a circular or oblong form, by large stones, which were guarded by Druids to prevent intrusion, and to inspire the common people with awe. In the centre of these circles, were stones of immense size that were used as altars. The summits of hills were chosen for retirement, and to afford a commanding view.

The principal Druidical festivals were in May and November, and were announced by the kindling of large fires. On the altars were offered first, cakes, milk, eggs, herbs, and simples; then noxious animals, as the wolf and the bear; and frequently human victims. It was a part of Druidical belief that nothing but blood could atone for life; hence their altars streamed with human blood, which was offered in behalf of the public safety on the eve of a war, or in a time of national calamity.

Religion being the chief bond of union among the Caledonian tribes, the Druids, as the ministers of religion, possessed the sole authority of making, expounding, and executing the laws; which were regarded as the decrees of their deities, and not as the commands of their chiefs. No part of their theology or philosophy was committed to writing. Their tenets were transmitted in oral heroic poetry. So terrible were the effects of their excommunications, that private persons were excluded from the privileges of society, and even princes were devoted to destruction upon the most frivolous pretences.

From the affinity of the Celtic and Sanscrit languages, which cannot have come in contact during the last three thousand years, it has been supposed that both were derived from a primary language of Asia; and there is a very strik-

ing resemblance between the Druidical and Braminical tenets, religious rites, knowledge of astronomy, and severity of discipline.

In the beginning of Nero's reign, Suetonius Paulinus proposed to extirpate the Druids, and thereby to destroy the great actuating principle of all the Celtic people, and that which was then capable of communicating order and energy to their operations.

The principal residence of the Druids was at that time in the island of Anglesea. There their councils were held, and thence were their commands dispersed among all the British nations. While the Romans were passing the strait which divides that island from Britain, they suddenly halted, astonished by an unusual and imposing spectacle, which for some time suspended their march. On every side, were seen bands of Druids in their most sacred habits, lifting their hands to heaven, devoting their enemies to death, and animating their disciples to religious phrensy. But their fanatical fury was unavailing: The Romans burned them in their own fires, and destroyed their consecrated woods. By what means and at what period the Druids disappeared in Caledonia, is entirely unknown.

CHAPTER III.

The Caledonian tribes—their local situation. Constance visits Britain. The Picts and Scots—their origin and character. Distracted state of the Roman empire. The Romans finally evacuate Britain.

FROM the silence of the classic authors respecting the affairs of Caledonia during the third century, it is probable that the native tribes, intimidated by the hostile visit of Severus, overawed by the threatening aspect of the Northern Wall, or satisfied with the treaty in which they were recognized as an independent people, had devoted their attention to the pursuits of peace. The long residence of the Romans in the island, had polished, in some degree, the rude manners of the inhabitants, taught them to desire and raise the conveniencies of life, and reconciled them to their language and manners.

Of the twenty-one Caledonian tribes, sixteen lived on the north side of Antoninus's Wall. The five Southern tribes, separated for a long period by an impassable barrier from the congenerous tribes of the North, felt little interest in the revolutions of the Roman world; But, in the beginning of the

fourth century, they had become the objects of jealousy to the Northern tribes, who made irruptions into their territories. The convulsions of the empire had probably rendered it necessary to withdraw the greater part of the troops from the Roman Wall, and thus leaving it comparatively defenceless, invite the hostile attacks of the secluded Caledonians.

In the year 306, Constance found it necessary to repair to Britain in person, to repel the attacks of the Caledonians and other *Picts*. The Romans were successful; but their general died at York. This is the first historical notice of the *Picts*. The *Scots* appear for the first time on the page of history in the year 360. While the Persians in the East and the Germans in the West gave full employment to the Romans, the peace was again infracted in Britain by the Scots and Picts, who wasted the frontier provinces. Lupicinius, an officer of experience, was sent to chastise their temerity; but his attention was too deeply engrossed with the civil war which was about to kindle between Julian and Constance, to accomplish the object of his command. Antiquarian disputes continue to the present time to obscure rather than to elucidate the origin of the Scots and Picts. It is generally admitted, as the most simple and rational opinion, that the Picts were the genuine descendants of the aboriginal Celts or Caledonians. They inhabited the districts on the north-east of the Forth. Their country being generally level and fertile, was capable, even in the first stage of agriculture, of producing a considerable quantity of corn; and the epithet of "wheat-eater" expressed the envy or contempt of the carnivorous Highlander.

The love of arms and rapine was the ruling passion of the Picts; and their warriors, who stripped themselves for a day of battle, were distinguished by the strange fashion of painting their naked bodies with gaudy colours and fantastic figures.

The Scots were unknown as a people during the first and second centuries: They had not, during that period, acquired their appropriate name. That the Scots were emigrants from Ireland, has been clearly ascertained. Before the year 400, they had become so numerous in that island, that they derived from them the name of *Scotland*. As the Scots were indigenous in Ireland, so was probably their name. They acquired the appellation of Scots; which signifies, in the Irish language, *dispersed* or *scattered*—and in the Celtic, is said to be equivalent to *wanderers* or *vagrants*.

As the nearest coasts of Britain supplied the sister island with colonists in the first ages, the latter, in the progress of time, being unmolested by the Romans, and having a superabundant and erratic population, colonized the western coasts of Argyllshire. Towards the end of the fourth century, the Scots were frequently engaged in maritime excursions against the Romanized or Western shores of the British island, which they infested by piracy and rapine. The ready coalescence of the Scots and Picts against the Romans, is a collateral evidence of their common Celtic origin. In the reign of the Emperor Valentinian, the Scots and Picts made a general attack upon the Roman province, and advanced as far as London, which they plundered; but being attacked by Theodosius, an officer of reputation, they hastily retreated.

The remaining transactions of the Romans in Britain were few and unimportant. The period was fast hastening when that enormous fabric, the Roman empire, which had diffused slavery and oppression; with peace and civility, over so considerable a part of the globe, should be finally dissolved.

The Emperors had found it necessary to recruit their legions from the frontier provinces, where the spirit of war was not totally extinguished. These mercenary forces, careless of laws, and indifferent to civil institutions, established a military government dangerous to the authority of the sovereign, and inimical to the liberty of the people.

The barbarous nations in the North of Germany, known by the name of the Goths and Vandals, assailed the frontiers of the Roman empire; and, having satiated their avidity by plunder, formed the design of settling themselves in the wasted provinces. The necessity of self-preservation superseded the ambition of power; and the ancient point of honour, never to contract the limits of the empire, could be no longer attended to in this desperate extremity.

All the distant legions in which the Emperors could confide were recalled for the defence of the capital and the centre of the empire, which had become a prey to faction and disorder. The legions in Britain revolted, and transferred the supreme power to Gratian; and, after his death, to Constantine; who conveyed the army that had invested him with the purple, to Gaul, in order to maintain their election.

As the Roman power was weakened in Britain, the Scots and Picts advanced, and cruelly harassed the enervated provincials. In this extremity, the latter made supplications to Rome; and a legion was sent to their assistance. This force was an overmatch for the invaders; who were overthrown in

every engagement; and the Romans for the last time repaired the fortifications that had long overawed the British tribes. Having performed this last and good office, the Romans informed their allies that they must thenceforward depend upon their own valour to preserve their independence; and they took their final leave of Britain, after being masters of the greatest part of it for nearly four centuries.

No sooner had they evacuated the island, than the Scots and Picts, regarding the country as their prey, attacked the Northern Wall and the adjacent country with great fury. Subdued by their own fears, the dispirited natives deserted their station, and left the country entirely open to the inroads of the victorious enemy. They addressed a letter of supplication to Rome; in which they pathetically deplored their hapless condition. "The Barbarians," said they, "chase us into the sea; the sea throws us back on the Barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves."

To these moving complaints, the Britons received a desponding answer: The Romans pitied their allies; whom generosity alone, had they been able, would have induced them to assist. Reduced to despair, the Britons deserted their habitations, abandoned tillage, and, fleeing for shelter to their forests and mountains, suffered equally from the sword and from hunger. The invaders themselves began to feel the pressure of famine in a country which they had ravaged; and, being attacked by the Saxons, whom the Britons had invited to their assistance, they hastily retreated with their spoil beyond the Wall of Antoninus.

CHAPTER IV.

The Romanized tribes—extent of their kingdom—are conquered by the Angles. The Picts—their history obscure—they defeat the Saxons of Lothian. The Scots migrate from Ireland to Argyllshire—their wars with the Saxons—extent of their kingdom—they defeat and conquer the Picts.

UNAWED any longer by the Romans, the Picts became the most potent people in the North of Caledonia, until conquered by their fortunate rivals the Scots. The five Romanized tribes assumed likewise the character of independence, and established their own government and laws. Their territory extended from the river Eden and the Solway Frith to the Northern Wall: It included Lidsdale, Tiviotdale, Dumfries, Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, the middle and west parts of Stirlingshire, and the greater part of Dunbartonshire.

Alcluyd, now Dunbarton, was the metropolis of this kingdom.

The Angles invaded it soon after the congenerous Saxons had seized South Britain. Though the Britons opposed their invaders with persevering bravery, the latter overran the country as far as the Northern Wall, and concluded a treaty with the Picts. The enfeebled Britons soon sunk under the superior power of the Angles; and, in the beginning of the seventh century, Ethelfrid, a Northumbrian chief, entirely subdued them. Edwin, a rival contemporary, succeeded Ethelfrid. He was the most powerful chief of his time. He built, or probably fortified the Castle of Edinburgh; and from him the Scottish metropolis derived its name.

The history of the Picts, as far as it can be gleaned from annals and chronicles, is perplexed and obscure,—exhibiting generally a tissue of domestic faction and foreign war. According to the most authentic accounts, forty Pictish kings are said to have reigned after the abdication of the Romans, during a period of three hundred and forty years. The first Pictish monarch was Drust, the son of Erp; who for a long period rendered himself terrible to the Romanized Britons, and who, from his numerous and successful enterprises, acquired, in the poetical language of the day, the eulogium of "Drust of the Hundred Battles."

From their slow progress in civilization, the Picts could not maintain numerous armies. Their mode of warfare consisted of sudden invasions and hasty retreats. They crossed the Friths of Forth and Clyde in their currachs or canoes, and plundered their more civilized neighbours; but that they formed settlements *within* the Wall of Antoninus, or claimed rightful possession of the country on the south of it, is unsupported by credible authority.

Towards the end of the seventh century, Egfrid, the Northumbrian prince, attacked the Picts. Having crossed the Forth and the Tay, he advanced into Angus as far as Dunnichen, where he received a total defeat. Few of the Saxons escaped; and so complete was their overthrow, that the Tweed, for a short time, became the northern boundary of their principality. The Picts were imprudently tempted by their success to make an irruption into Northumberland; but they sustained a defeat; and Bredei, their king, was slain.

A. D. 710.

After this overthrow, the Saxons of Lothian remained unmolested for a considerable period; but they gradually sunk into insignificance: Their capital was sacked by the Picts and Saxons; and the respite from foreign war

A. D. 750.

which they subsequently enjoyed must be attributed to the intestine discord which prevailed in the Pictish and Northumbrian states.

The history of the migration and settlement of the Scots has been hitherto deferred, that the succeeding narrative might be unbroken.

A colony of the Scots, conducted by Fergus, Lorn, and Angus, the sons of an Irish chieftain, effected a permanent settlement in Argyllshire in the year of our Lord 503. The new settlers were denominated *Dalriadini*, from Dalriada, the Irish district whence they had migrated; and this appellation was common to the Scots even in the time of Bede.

From the want of contemporaneous writings, there scarcely occurs a period in history so intricate and dubious as the annals of the Scots from their first settlement in Argyll till their subjugation of the Picts, comprehending a period of three hundred and forty years. The series and genealogy of the Scottish kings have been involved in peculiar perplexity, by the contests of the Irish and Scottish antiquarians for preëminence in antiquity as well as in fame.

The Scottish colonists were not numerous at first; but they rapidly multiplied, as they were soon joined by kindred tribes. Their government was then patriarchal, with a nominal submission to the oldest chief; but contests for superiority inevitably followed, and terminated in sanguinary conflicts and revolutions.

Being a warlike people, they were frequently at variance with the Saxons, the Romanized Britons, and the Picts. Twenty-nine kings are said to have reigned before the renowned Kenneth Macalpine, the conqueror of the Picts. His father Alpine fell a sacrifice to his ambition. Having landed on the confines of Ayr, with the view of extending his conquests, he was slain in Galloway.

In the eighth century, a civil war desolated the Pictish kingdom, and proved destructive to its princes and chiefs, many of whom fell in battle or by assassination. The Scots took advantage of these civil discords, and harassed the enfeebled Picts. At length, Kenneth Macalpine the Second, by conquest and inheritance, secured his access'n to the Pictish throne, and united into one kingdom the whole country north of the Wall of Antoninus.

There is no authentic evidence that the united kingdom of the Scots and Picts extended beyond the Northern Wall. After the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons, the princes of Northumberland possessed all the territory between the

Humber and the Frith of Forth. The Castle of Edinburgh, which commanded the adjacent country, continued in the hands of the Saxons till the defeat of Egfrid by the Picts, who then took possession of it. But the Saxons reconquered it soon after, and retained it till it was ceded to Indulf King of Scotland.

As a farther confirmation, all the names in this district are of Saxon origin, and the vernacular language is full of old English words and phrases. Lothian was annexed to Scotland, but not without bloody struggles, two centuries and a half after the union of the Scots and Picts.

The district now comprehended in Galloway was colonized from Ireland. It anciently included, not only the country known by that name, and the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, but nearly the whole of Ayrshire. After the subjugation of the kingdom of Alcluyd, it had its own princes and laws. For a considerable period, it was independent of Scotland; but it afterwards acknowledged a feudatory dependence on that kingdom. This nominal submission supplied the Sovereign with rude and undisciplined soldiers, who added rather to the terror than to the strength of his armies.

After the dissolution of the Heptarchy, Cumberland became, by an obscure title, an appendage of the Scottish crown.

BOOK THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

Kenneth the Second—invasion of the Danes. Donald the Third—war with the Saxons. Constantine the Second. Ith. Grig—his character. Donald the Fourth. Constantine the Third. Invasion of the Danes—of the English. The Scots defeated in England. Malcolm. Indulf. Dif. Culen. Kenneth the Third.

A. D. 843. KENNETH the SECOND.—Kenneth Macalpine having united the Scots and Picts under one government, successfully employed his address in preserving the integrity of his dominions, and his valour in repelling his foreign enemies. He was an able and warlike prince. His power became extremely formidable to the Saxons of Lothian; whose territories he frequently invaded,—violating their religious

houses, and burning their castles. His dominions were assailed on the West by the Britons of Strathclyde, who burned Dunblane. The Danish pirates, under the ferocious Radnor Lodbrog, made a descent upon the Eastern coast, penetrated to Dunkeld, and plundered the country. Though that freebooter escaped the avenging sword of the Scots, he perished soon after in a conflict with the Northumbrian Saxons.

A. D. 850. Kenneth is said to have been religious: For he removed the relics of St. Columba from the island of Iona to a church which he had built at Dunkeld; and he transported *the fatal stone*, the palladium of Scottish independence, from Argyllshire to Scone. A code of spurious laws has been ascribed to him; but it does not appear that he enacted any laws, except some general regulations adapted to the peculiar and local circumstances and the dissimilar manners of his subjects. Kenneth died at Forteviot, the Pictish capital. He left a son and a daughter: The latter made a prominent figure in the Irish annals of that period.

A. D. 857. Donald the Third.—This prince succeeded his brother, and inherited the martial spirit and talents of his family. The laws of succession were not then observed as they are now understood: It was judged more eligible that a prince of mature age should ascend the throne than an inexperienced youth. It required all the policy and vigilance of the King to prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom. The Picts, ardent to regain their independence, secretly formed an alliance with the Northumbrian Saxons, and took the field. In the first engagement, the Saxons were defeated; in the second, the Scottish King was taken prisoner; but the former attempting to cross the Frith of Forth, lost the half of their boats in a storm. A treaty of peace was then concluded; from which the Picts were excluded. Many of them emigrated to England, Norway, and Denmark. Donald reigned only four years.

A. D. 863. He was succeeded by his nephew Constantine the Second. At the period of Constantine's accession, his country was exposed to all the miseries of invasion by the piratical Danes; who infested England, France, and Ireland.

Half a century had elapsed since Ireland became the scene of bloody conflicts in repelling the Danes, who established themselves on its Eastern shores. They thence invaded and pillaged the opposite coast of Scotland. The geographical position of Scotland offered attractive and eligible landing-

places to the Danes; who, after a short and easy voyage, could land from the Frith of Moray, the river Tay, or the estuary of the Forth.

Of these facilities they fully availed themselves during the third and seventh years of Constantine's reign. They overran and plundered the whole country with impunity. The wretched Scots who escaped in battle fled to the hills; but many of their countrymen were doomed to a hard captivity. Though misfortune frowned on Constantine, he relaxed not his efforts to emancipate his country; and he fell in battle for this glorious cause, on the shores of the Forth.

A. D. 881. } ETH or HUGH.—The reign of this prince was short and turbulent. A faction headed by Grig, a Northern chieftain, rendered an appeal to the sword indispensable in defence of his crown. Eth was wounded in battle, and died two months after. He was denominated *fair-haired*; which, in the language of that age, denoted effeminacy of character. His death entailed upon his country the miseries attendant upon a disputed title.

A. D. 882. } GRIG.—Grig or Gregory, the leader of the rebellion, immediately seized the sceptre; but, to colour his usurpation with an appearance of moderation, he chose for his colleague in the government, Eocha, King of Strathclyde, who was the grandson, by a daughter, of the Great Kenneth.

Buchanan has embellished the character of the usurper as the conqueror of England and Ireland. He appears, indeed, to have been a ruler of a martial character, but of unprincipled morals. The splendour of his character may be traced to the adulation of the monks of St Andrew's; who studied, by grateful flattery and other disingenuous means, to degrade the character of his predecessor, and crown him with greatness, in return for some immunities which he had granted them. But the clergy could not shield him from the indignation of the people; for, at the end of three years, he and his colleague were driven from the throne. He died at his castle in Aberdeenshire, four years after his abdication. He is said to have founded or rebuilt the city of Aberdeen.

A. D. 893. } DONALD the FOURTH.—Upon the deposition of the usurper, Donald ascended the throne. The Danes, those terrible enemies of Scotland, arrived in the Tay; and, disembarking their troops, marched to the vicinity of Scone; where they were met by the Scots, and defeated, after a well-contested action. Nine years after, another army of Danes from Ireland invaded Scotland upon the Western

coast. The Scots, under their martial king, hastened to attack them. The Danes had to deplore the loss of their leader, and the Scots their king; who perished bravely defending the liberties of his people, after an active reign of eleven years.

A. D. 904. CONSTANTINE the THIRD.—Constantine, the son of Eth, assumed the government, and evinced that he possessed the skill and valour of a brave general, with an ardent love of his country. Scotland had scarcely begun to recover from the effects of the late invasion, when the restless enemy made another irruption from the Eastern shores, and advanced as far as Stratherne, before the Scots could be collected in sufficient number to arrest their progress. The conflicting armies engaged near Forteviot. The valour of the Scots was crowned with victory, and procured a respite from foreign invasion for fourteen years.

At the end of that period, Reginald, a Danish chief, appeared in the Clyde with a threatening armament, and plundered the country with impunity, while the Scots were mustering their armies. On this occasion, the latter were assisted by the Northumbrian Saxons; who greatly contributed to obtain the victory, the fruits of which were enjoyed for many years.

Edward the Elder, King of England, having made pretensions of sovereignty to the Southern districts of Scotland, marched with an army to the borders to enforce his claims; but his death occasioned a temporary suspension of hostilities. His son Ethelstan, in obedience to his father's dying commands, entered Scotland, and wasted the country. The Scots prudently retired to the mountains, to avoid an enemy which they were unable to resist. A peace was concluded; but it was purchased by valuable presents, and the delivery of Constantine's son as a hostage.

A. D. 934.

The national pride of the Scots was too deeply wounded to fulfil the conditions of a treaty which they regarded as dishonourable. A general confederacy of Danish and Northumbrian freebooters, animated by the hope of plunder, united with the Scots to attack the English. A numerous fleet sailed from the Tay and the Forth, and conveyed an intrepid army to the Southern shore of the Humber; when a sanguinary engagement ensued, disadvantageous to the Scots and their allies. But their desperate courage procured an exemption from invasion for some time, and impressed the English with respect for their valour.

Constantine appears to have been a religious prince. In the

sixth year of his reign, he entered into a solemn engagement with the nobles and clergy, to maintain the faith, the laws, and the discipline of the church. After a reign of forty years, he resigned his crown, and retired among the Culdees of St Andrew's; where he lived several years in religious solitude; and, on account of his piety, was promoted to the dignity of abbot of that order.

A.D. 944. MALCOLM the FIRST.—Malcolm, the son of Donald the Fourth, ascended the abdicated throne. The most remarkable event of his short reign was the obtaining of Cumberland from the English, on condition of maintaining the peace of the Northern counties, and becoming the ally of Edmund. England was at that time agitated by insubordination. Edmund was assassinated: His brother Edred, who succeeded him, required Malcolm to fulfil the conditions of the treaty.

The Scots were not remiss in obeying the summons. They overran the disturbed counties, and were rewarded with their plunder. Malcolm was less fortunate in settling the internal disquiet of his own kingdom. An insurrection in Morayshire required his presence to suppress it. The chief of the insurgents was punished with death; but his sept, instigated by revenge, pursued the King, who encountered them in the Mearns, and was slain in battle.

A. D. 953. INDULF.—Upon the demise of Malcolm, Indulf, the son of Constantine the Third, assumed the government. It was during his reign that Edinburgh Castle was ceded by Edwy to the Scots; which, at a subsequent period, led to the cession of Lothian.

The Danes, the scourge of the kingdom, infested the shores of Buchan. They were repulsed in the first attack, by the Governor of that district; but landing afterwards in Banffshire, Indulf hastened in person to expel them. He was slain in the pursuit of the fugitive intruders.

A. D. 961. DUF.—This prince had the misfortune to be opposed by his brother Culen; who was instigated by the Abbot of Dunkeld, the St Dunstan of Scotland. The rival princes appealed to the sword. Duf was at first successful; but, being compelled to retire to the North, he was assassinated on the classic ground of Forres.

A. D. 965. CULEN.—The successful rival enjoyed but a short period the sovereignty of the kingdom. He was debauched, crafty, and cruel. Having violated the King of Strathclyde's daughter, he provoked a war between the kingdoms; which terminated in his defeat and death.

A. D. 970. KENNETH the THIRD.—It is uncertain whether a desire of revenge or the love of conquest induced a continuance of the war between the Scots and the enfeebled Britons of Strathclyde. The national independence of the latter was about to expire: They were subdued by Kenneth; who added their territory to the Scottish monarchy.

Edgar, King of England, being harassed by the Danes, who pillaged the Northern counties, and excited insurrection, required Kenneth, agreeably to treaty as conservator of the peace of the Northern counties, to chastise the insurgents, and restore tranquillity. The Scots soon appeared among the malecontents, restored order, and carried off the son of the Northumbrian chief. Scarcely had the Scots returned home, when the Danes appeared in the Tay with a numerous fleet. Kenneth assembled his veteran warriors, and engaged the enemy at Luncarty, near Perth. A long and sanguinary conflict ensued, but the Scots ultimately prevailed.*

Having secured domestic tranquillity, Kenneth conceived the opportunity favourable for changing the ancient usage which regulated the descent of the crown, by superseding his nephews, the sons of Duf, and establishing the succession in his own family. To this bold and unjust attempt, may be traced the sanguinary disputes which succeeded between the families of Duf and Kenneth.

The King's death was procured by the treachery of Finella, a lady of the Mearns; who invited him to lodge at her castle while on a hunting excursion, or in pilgrimage to the shrine of St Paddy. The noble regicide was instigated to commit this foul deed in revenge of her son's death, who had fallen by the sword of justice. She soon after expiated her crime with her blood.

CHAPTER II.

Constantine the Fourth. Kenneth the Fourth. Malcolm the Second—defeats the Danes—who finally evacuate Scotland. The Scots conquer Lothian. Duncan—assassinated in revenge by Macbeth—who usurps the government. His policy—he is expelled and slain.

A. D. 994. CONSTANTINE the FOURTH.—Constantine was the son of Culen. His right of succession being disputed

* Buchanan has ascribed this victory to the valorous conduct of a peasant and his two sons, who rallied the Scots when flying from their enemies. Pennant allows that there is something heroic in the tale, but he disbelieves it. Chalmers observes, "I believe the whole story is an egregious fable."

by Kenneth, the son of Duf, the competitors met in arms at Amon, near Perth, and Constantine finished his short and inglorious reign of one year.

A.D. 995. KENNETH the FOURTH.—Kenneth the son of Duf was surnamed *the Grim*, from his gigantic strength. Ethelred King of England almost depopulated Cumberland; —it is uncertain for what cause. The English fleet attempted to circumnavigate Scotland with the view of intimidation. A treaty was concluded on the former basis of common defence; but a state of permanent repose was unsuitable to the martial habits of a people who, through necessity or choice, were trained to arms, and who were as ready to overthrow as to support the throne. Malcolm, the son of Kenneth the Third, availed himself of the innovation, in regard to the regal succession made by his father, to urge his pretensions to the crown. Aided by their respective partisans, the competitors met in conflict in Upper Stratherne; and Kenneth the Grim was mortally wounded.

A.D. 1003. MALCOLM the SECOND.—The reign of Malcolm, though turbulent, was vigorous. He defended his country from the attacks of the Danes and the incursions of the English. Three successive and desperate attacks were made by the former, during the first eleven years of this reign, to obtain a permanent settlement on the North-east shores of Scotland.

A.D. 1010. The first was at Mortlach, in Moray; where the intruders were compelled to yield the palm of victory to the bravery of the Scots. To commemorate his victory, Malcolm afterwards built a religious house on the field of battle. The second descent was made on the shores of Angus. Camus, a valiant Dane, having landed near Panbride, penetrated into the country but a few miles, when his forces were defeated and he was slain in the pursuit. A monumental stone, called Camus' Cross, commemorates the spot of his sepulture.

The Danes, though discouraged by defeat, made a third descent upon the coast of Buchan, near Slaines Castle; but they were overthrown by the chief of that district. Scotland was the only country in which these ruthless warriors were not permitted to settle permanently, though they succeeded in establishing themselves in Ireland, England, and Normandy.

A.D. 1014. Sueno, the Dane, despairing to overcome the valorous Scots, entered into a treaty with Malcolm, by which Scotland was finally exempted from piratical incursions.

This was a happy epoch for Scotland, which had for a century and a half been visited with the horrible devastations of a merciless invader.

The Ostmen or Danes, who had settled in Ireland, embraced Christianity about the middle of the tenth century; and it is an important fact, that this change in their religious principles greatly mitigated their natural ferocity, and restrained their piratical propensity. As the profession of the Christian religion was introduced into the Pagan regions of the North, the European governments were gradually improved, and the spirit of piracy insensibly disappeared.

Exempted from the attacks of foreign enemies, Malcolm had leisure to contemplate the project of extending his dominion. From the Earl of Northumberland he wrested the district of Lothian; which was conceded by treaty, and attached unalienably to the Scottish monarchy. Malcolm's ambitious views excited the jealousy of Canute; who, under pretence of obtaining an engagement to perform the customary homage for Cumberland, penetrated into Scotland. The A.D. 1031. demands of the haughty Dane were prudently complied with.

Had Malcolm, in the administration of the laws, been guided by a spirit of wisdom and moderation, his character would have been untarnished. But Finlegh, the father of Macbeth, and Governor of Ross, perished by the King's resentment; and the Governor of Moray, the father of Lulach, was burned in his castle, with fifty of his clan. Revenge, though delayed, remained unsatisfied, until Macbeth avenged the death of his father and the wrongs of his wife.

Malcolm died, or, as some affirm, was assassinated, at Glammis, in Angus. His assassins escaped not with impunity, though they fell not by the sword of justice. After committing the foul murder, they endeavoured to escape; but, in crossing Forfar Loch, which was then frozen, the ice gave way, and they all miserably perished.

A.D. 1033. DUNCAN.—Duncan, the grandson and successor of Malcolm, was a prince of a gentle disposition. After his accession, he was required by Canute to fulfil his grandfather's engagements, and repress the turbulence of the Northumbrians. The Scots were not very successful; but the death of Canute suspended their operations.

The events of Duncan's reign were few and unimportant, if we except his tragical and lamented fate. His grandfather, the late King, had slain Kenneth the Fourth, and supplanted his family. Kenneth's granddaughter, the lady Gruach,

was married, first, to the Maormor or Chief of Moray, who was burned with many of his clan. Her second husband was the renowned Macbeth, who was the grandson, by a daughter, of Malcolm the Second. Lady Macbeth's thoughts were deeply engaged in contemplating the redress of her own and her grandfather's wrongs. Macbeth, too, conceiving himself entitled to royalty, wanted no spur to urge him to his purpose. He assassinated the King at Bothgowanan, near Elgin, whither he had been drawn, by some urgent duty, within the territorial government of Macbeth. Duncan left two sons,—Malcolm who fled to England, and Donald who was chased to the Hebrides.

A.D. 1039. MACBETH.—This celebrated person was by birth Thane of Ross, and by his marriage Thane of Moray. He delayed not, after the murder of his Sovereign, to seize the sceptre. Supported by the lieges of Ross and Moray, and the partisans of Kenneth the Fourth, he hastened to Scone, where he was crowned king. Conscious of his defective title, he endeavoured to acquire stability to his government by a beneficent and vigorous administration.

For ten years, he reigned in apparent security. He was just, vigilant, and merciful to the poor. But the crime of a most sacrilegious murder was secretly regarded with abhorrence by the nation. An unsuccessful effort was made by the Abbot of Dunkeld to drive the usurper from the throne, and to restore the legitimate heir. Macbeth himself seems to have been haunted by a poignant consciousness of guilt. To sooth the anguish of his spirit, he was liberal to the poor, he gave largesses to the clergy, and caused ample distributions to be made at Rome. To the Culdees of Lochleven he conveyed valuable lands.

But his temper, naturally cruel, burst the restraints he had imposed on himself. He murdered Bancho, a nobleman nearly allied to the royal family; he confiscated the estates of many of the disaffected nobles; and maintained a band of plunderers whom he kept as his body guard. To protect himself from the vengeance of the nobility, who envied his greatness and detested his cruelty, he built a castle on Dunsinnan Hill. He exacted heavy contributions from the nobility, and even required their personal attendance to complete the fortress.

Macduff, Thane of Fife, less obsequious than the other nobles, declined obedience, and fled to England. He encouraged the exiled Malcolm to assert his right to the crown of his ancestors. Siward Earl of Northumberland, Malcolm's

maternal uncle, having received the command of ten thousand men from the English King, marched into Scotland, and defeated Macbeth, who fled to the North, where his friends were numerous, resolving still to contend for the sovereignty: But he was slain in battle the following year, by the hand of the injured Macduff. In the vicinity of Lunfanan, two miles north-west of the village of Kincardine O'Niel, in Aberdeenshire, there is a valley in which the vestiges of an ancient fortress are still discernible, a hundred yards in length and twenty in breadth. In this solitary place, it is conjectured, Macbeth sought an asylum.

Lulach, Lady Macbeth's son, was acknowledged king by the lieges of Ross and Moray. The pageant monarch reigned but a few months. Malcolm discovered his lurking-place, and slew him in Strathbogie. Macbeth and Lulach were buried in Iona, the charnel-house of the Scottish kings. Concerning the fate of Lady Macbeth, history and tradition are silent.

CHAPTER III.

Malcolm the Third—transactions with England—his policy and character.

A. D. 1057. MALCOLM the THIRD, surnamed *Canmore*.—Malcolm having no competitor to fear or oppose, successfully employed himself in calming the irritated feelings of his disappointed enemies. Nor were his faithful friends forgotten. The patriot Macduff, by whose means he was restored to the throne, sought no reward in titles of dignity, pensions, or grants of crown lands. Agreeably to his request, the King bestowed on him the following privileges: That he and his successors should have the right of placing the kings of Scotland on the throne at their coronation; that they should lead the van of the Scottish armies whenever the royal banner was displayed; that if any of his family or clan committed unpremeditated slaughter, he should have a peculiar sanctuary, and obtain pardon, upon payment of an atonement in money.

Little is known of the first nine years of Malcolm's reign. He was induced by gratitude and interest to cultivate peace with England, until the death of Edward the Confessor. Harold, the last prince of the Saxon line, succeeded; but he was opposed by his brother Tostig; who, aided by a body of Norwegians, invaded England. The intruder was repulsed and fled to Scotland, where he obtained an asylum. But,

in a second attempt upon England, he and his confederate Harold King of Norway, were slain at the battle of Stanford Bridge, near York.

The alliance between Scotland and England was superseded by the victory and accession of William the Conqueror. Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line, a prince of contemptible understanding, though despised by the Conqueror as incapable, from his mental imbecility, of exciting any formidable opposition, was notwithstanding supported by the malecontent lords who fled with him and his family to Scotland; and sought the protection of Malcolm, who soon after espoused Margaret, the sister of the fugitive prince.

A. D. 1066.

A formidable attack was meditated against England by the adherents of Atheling, in conjunction with the Danes and Scots. The Saxons and Danes made a descent upon Yorkshire. The Conqueror had the address by bribery to dissolve the confederacy. Edgar and his adherents found safety in flight and concealment. Ignorant of the fate of his allies, Malcolm, when too late, led his forces into England by the Western borders through Cumberland. He wasted and pillaged the country; even religious houses were plundered and burned, and they who fled thither for sanctuary were destroyed in the conflagration.

Gospatric, a Northumbrian chief, who had deserted Atheling, retaliated severely upon Malcolm's subjects in Cumberland; which so enraged the latter, that he commanded his army to seize all the young men and women in the counties through which they passed, and carry them captive into Scotland. So great was the number thus carried off and dispersed over the country, that for many years the captives were to be found in every Scottish village and hovel.

To punish the late revolt, William the Conqueror emulated the barbarity of the Scots. He laid waste the country between the Humber and the Tees. The wretched inhabitants who perished not by famine, either sold themselves for slaves, or sought an asylum in Scotland. Thither many Normans of quality, as well as Saxons, retired. All who were obnoxious to William's government obtained a hospitable reception at the court of Malcolm.

Resolved to avenge on Malcolm the insults he had offered, William invaded Scotland. The Scots, though poor, were independent. They advanced to meet the Conqueror; but a convention being agreed upon, Malcolm met William at Abernithi in Dumfriesshire, concluded a

A. D. 1072.

peace, gave hostages, and did homage for the lands which he held in England. It is probable that Edgar Atheling was included in the treaty, as he soon after left Scotland and was reconciled to William.

A silent lapse of seven years succeeded: "But as princes," says Mair, "observe treaties while they will," Malcolm availed himself of William's absence on the Continent, to invade Northumberland as far as the Tyne. An English army, under Robert, William's son, advanced upon Scotland, but it was compelled to make an inglorious retreat. With the view of obstructing the incursions of the Scots, William erected a fortress upon the Tyne, called Newcastle.

A. D. 1080. The Conqueror was succeeded by his second son, William Rufus; who generously released Duncan, Malcolm's natural son, who had been a hostage, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon him. Malcolm was however little gratified with the civilities of the new king, while he withheld Cumberland from him. To recover possession of his English territories, he penetrated into England as far as Newcastle. Having there received intelligence that an army was forming to arrest his progress, he deemed it prudent to retire.

A. D. 1091.

Rufus, in retaliation, prepared a mighty army for the invasion of Scotland. Though his fleet was destroyed by an autumnal storm, he continued his march. Nor was Malcolm less assiduous in preparing for his defence. A peace was concluded by the mediation of Robert Duke of Normandy, and Edgar Atheling. Malcolm promised the same duty that he had yielded to the Conqueror; and William, in return, gave him a compensation for the lands he claimed in England.

Yet the peace between these potentates was not of long continuance. Rufus erected a castle at Carlisle, as a barrier against the Scots. Malcolm remonstrated against this measure as an infraction of the treaty. A personal interview was procured; which ended unfavourably,—as the demand of homage so captiously required by Rufus was as cautiously avoided by Malcolm. The English monarch was advised to detain Malcolm a prisoner; which he magnanimously refused: But he dismissed him with circumstances of scorn and contempt.

Exasperated by this contumelious usage, the King of Scots assembled a tumultuary army, burst into Northumberland, and renewed the miseries of that unhappy province. In attempting to possess himself of the Castle of Alnwick, he and his eldest son were slain. The army, over-

A. D. 1093.

come with grief and astonishment, immediately retreated. The remains of Malcolm were interred at Tinmouth. His Queen survived him only a few days. He had nine children: Duncan, the eldest, has been generally considered as illegitimate; the remaining six sons and two daughters were born to him by Margaret.

In reviewing the reign of Malcolm the Third, we discover a character of steady persevering courage. He maintained his throne with the same spirit by which he recovered it. Though he was the sovereign of a nation uncivilized and destitute of foreign resources, and had such antagonists as the Conqueror and his son Rufus to encounter, yet, for twenty-seven years, he supported this unequal contest, sometimes with success—never without honour. There are traces of the barbarity and superstition of the times to be seen in his character; but if we would judge with truth and candour, we must appreciate his merit by the standard of his own age.

Of Malcolm's character as a legislator and politician, it is more difficult to form a correct estimate. That he introduced the feudal law into Scotland, is an ingenious but visionary hypothesis. It is, however, certain, that many Saxons and Normans acquired lands in his kingdom, and very probably held them by a military tenure. It is improbable that a fabric so vast should have been raised by Malcolm; for he possessed not the genius nor influence of Lycurgus: He was utterly illiterate; he possessed intrepid courage, but not political abilities.

It is probable that the feudal law was gradually introduced into Scotland, not by the authority of any one monarch, nor perhaps in the course of a century. In some parts of the kingdom, the feudal system did not prevail till in other parts its rigour began to be mitigated.

During the reign of Malcolm and his sons, many strangers settled in Scotland, who acquired estates by marriage, by occupying waste lands, and by purchase. The mere act of possession, without writing, would be considered but an insecure tenure. A charter from the Crown would have the appearance of ratifying the possession by royal authority, even in disorderly times, when lands were obtained by fraud or usurped by violence. In these charters, the sovereigns would naturally impose strict subordination, and the vassal would readily consent to it; for to be eminent in the profession of arms was then considered the only object worthy of ambition.

While the administration of justice was precarious, and

every powerful man was an oppressor, small proprietors of land could not defend themselves from the violence of the great without the aid of some protector. With that view, they resigned their lands to him, and received them back under the condition of performing feudal service.

Even he who had succeeded to his ancestors would wish to have his title confirmed by a charter from the Crown. When it was necessary to seek such a charter, which the Crown was not obliged to grant, conditions favourable to the Crown would be imposed and become prevalent.

Every new forfeiture would add strength to the feudal system, by enabling the Crown to make grants of the lands forfeited under the wonted conditions of fiefs.

To these causes may be attributed the introduction of the feudal system into Scotland. This important change was effected not on any extensive plan of policy or ambition, but by the silent operation of the fears and prejudices of men concurring with the accidental state of the kingdom; producing a train of consequences accelerated by favourable accidents.

A great change was introduced into the manners of the nation during this reign. Malcolm had passed his youth at the English court; he married an Anglo-Saxon princess; and appeared in public with a state and retinue previously unknown in Scotland. Though the Scots were tenacious of ancient customs, and viewed with jealousy the introduction of foreign manners, the virtuous and amiable demeanour of the Queen, who introduced a degree of politeness into her court remarkable for that age, contributed to soften the rude manners of the nobility.

Malcolm and his consort made few donations to the church. Though the Queen displayed an air of ostentation in her devotions and charities, her character exhibits distinguished usefulness and exemplary virtues. Every morning, she prepared food for nine little orphans, whom she fed upon her bended knees; she ministered at table to crowds of poor persons, and she washed the feet of six beggars every evening. She restored the religious observance of the Sabbath-day. In the administration of her household, she so blended severity of moral conduct with complacency of manners, that in her presence nothing unseemly was ever done or uttered; and she was equally revered and loved by all who approached her.

CHAPTER IV.

Donald Bane and Duncan. Edgar. Alexander—his liberality to the Church. David. Battle of the Standard. Peace with England. Insurrection of Wimund. David's character.

A. D. 1094. DONALD BANE and DUNCAN.—At the death of Malcolm, all his children were under age. His brother Donald had taken refuge in the Hebrides, after Macbeth's usurpation. In those rude times, the notions of hereditary right had little influence: The claim of an infant prince was often feebly supported. Animated with the hope of obtaining the sovereign power, Donald asserted his pretensions to the crown, as being the eldest male of the Royal Family. He assembled a powerful armament in the Western Isles, and invaded Scotland.

No opposition being made, he ascended the throne. Duncan, the illegitimate son of Malcolm, was in the service of Rufus when these events happened. After swearing fealty to William, he obtained his permission to invade Scotland; and, aided by a band of adventurers, he expelled the usurper from the throne. No sooner had Duncan assumed the sovereign authority, than a formidable conspiracy was formed against him by his brother Edmund and the fugitive Donald.

At their instigation, Malpedir, Earl of Mearns, assassinated Duncan. An upright stone, on the banks of the Bervie, commemorates his melancholy death. Donald Bane reascended the throne. But the guilty Edmund escaped not the punishment of fratricide: He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and, stung with remorse, acknowledged the justice of his punishment. William Rufus, commiserating the forlorn state of Malcolm's family, gave the command of an army to Edgar Atheling; who marched into Scotland, and placed Edgar, the son of Malcolm, upon the throne of his ancestors. Donald was imprisoned. By a cruel and odious policy, characteristical of a barbarous age, he was deprived of his eyesight.

A. D. 1098. EDGAR.—The reign of this prince is not distinguished by any memorable event. He was endowed with a superior understanding and a pacific disposition. The excellent education he had received from his mother, the intelligence and experience he had gained during his residence in England, and his partiality for the civil polity of that kingdom, induced him to maintain peace with England during his feeble administration of ten years. The amiable re-

lation between the kingdoms was farther strengthened by the marriage of Matilda, Edgar's sister, with Henry, surnamed *Beauclerc*, King of England. Edgar founded a priory of Benedictines at Coldingham, in the Merse, in honour of St Cuthbert.

A. D. 1106. ALEXANDER the FIRST.—Alexander succeeded his brother Edgar. Happily for Scotland, the necessity or policy of Henry induced him to cultivate peace with Alexander, who married Sibella, Henry's natural daughter; for, in that age, legitimacy was not so punctiliously attended to as in later times. David, the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore, was put in possession of Cumberland, agreeably to a testamentary deed executed by the late King.

Alexander was called into the Northern provinces to quell an insurrection excited by Angus, the grandson of Lulach, who claimed the crown. Angus made submissions, and tranquillity was restored. The King's promptitude and vigour in that affair occasioned his being surnamed Alexander *the Fierce*. His whole reign of eighteen years was disquieted by the ecclesiastical pretensions of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury; which were *then* deemed of primary importance, but which, in the present age, excite only derision.

Alexander died at Stirling, and left no legitimate issue. His country had cause to regret the loss of a sovereign instructed in letters and policy, and of great political vigour; which was invariably directed to promote the happiness of his people. His donations to the church were ample. He made a large grant of lands to the Church of St Andrew's; he increased the revenue of the monastery at Dunfermline, which his parents had founded; he brought a colony of canons regular from England, and established them at Scone; he built a monastery on the island of Incheolm, in the Frith of Forth, and dedicated it to St Columba, in gratitude to that saint for a deliverance from a storm.

A. D. 1124. DAVID.—David, the youngest son of Malcolm, succeeded his brother. His reign forms an epoch in the history and jurisprudence of Scotland. He was virtuous and accomplished. By attending the English court, he acquired a knowledge of the laws of that kingdom and experience in the art of government. He was married, before his accession, to the widow of the Earl of Northampton.

With the view of securing the crown to his daughter Matilda, in defect of his own issue male, the King of England engaged the King of Scots, the English clergy and nobility, with the perfidious Stephen Earl of Montaigne and Bretagne,

to guaranty this settlement. By this imprudent engagement, David was involved in protracted and inconclusive negotiations, that eventually entailed the miseries of war upon both kingdoms.

A. D. 1130. Angus Earl of Moray attempted again to overturn the government. In suppressing this insurrection, David was assisted by the renowned Walter L'Espec. The insurgents were defeated at Strickathro' in Forfarshire.

The death of Henry of England was the inauspicious signal for a civil war in that kingdom. Stephen, Henry's nephew, seized the throne, notwithstanding his solemn engagement to support the claim of Matilda. The King of Scots, with inconsiderate zeal, invaded England. The hostile monarchs entered into an insincere and futile treaty: But the war was rekindled with great animosity, and continued to rage with unabated fury for two years.

A. D. 1138. The battle of *the Standard* was fought on Cutton Moor, near Northallerton. It derived its name from the peculiar standard displayed by the English,—namely, a ship's mast fitted into the perch of a high four-wheeled carriage, from which were suspended the banners of St Peter of York, of St John of Beverley, and of St Wilfrid of Rippon. On the top of the standard was fixed a small casket, containing a consecrated host. From the virtues of this consecrated banner, the English believed themselves invincible. The Scots nearly succeeded in surprising the English; who, in order to gain time, deputed Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, to propose terms of accommodation. The negotiation was unsuccessful, and both sides prepared for battle.

The English formed one compact body, with the standard in the centre; the cavalry dismounted, and removing their horses to the rear, ranged themselves in front of the battle. The Scots were ranged in three divisions. The first was composed of the Gallowaymen, who were led by their chiefs; the second, comprising the cavalry, the archers, the men of Cumberland and Tiviotdale, was conducted by Prince Henry, under the guidance of the experienced Fitzjohn; the troops of the Lothians, the volunteers, and the Islanders, composed the third division; the reserve was commanded by the King in person. The Scottish infantry were badly armed: They used spears of an enormous length; their swords were ill-tempered and brittle; and their only implement of defence was a target of leather.

The Bishop of Orkney exhorted the English to battle in the name of Archbishop Thurston. He promised them victory,

and absolved from their sins all who should fall in the cause of their country. "Amen, Amen!" resounded from every quarter. The aged and venerable Walter L'Espec ascended the carriage to which the standard was affixed, and harangued the surrounding multitude. He reminded them of the glory of their ancestors, and pathetically described the barbarities of the Scots. "Your cause is just: It is for your all that you combat. I swear," said he, grasping the hand of the Earl of Albemarle, "I swear that on this day I will overcome the Scots, or perish." "So swear we all!" vociferated the Barons assembled around him.

The front line of the Scots rushed on to the attack. The shock was fierce and bloody, and continued two hours. The English spearmen began to give way; but the archers supported them, and, with incessant showers of arrows, overwhelmed and dismayed the Gallowaymen. Their leaders fell: Symptoms of general disorder began to appear; when the Prince of Scotland, at the head of the cavalry, pierced through the English phalanx, attacked and dispersed the troops that guarded the horses in the rear. The fugitive Gallowaymen rallied, and prepared to renew the combat. At that critical moment, an English soldier cutting off the head of one of the slain, raised it aloft, and cried, "The head of the King of Scots!"

Consternation spread through the Scottish army, notwithstanding the resolute courage of their King, who leaped from his horse and brought up the rear, to renew the battle. The Scottish nobles, seeing the day irrecoverably lost, compelled him to retreat: But he was effectually protected by a body of his troops; who, seeing the royal standard displayed, rallied round him and checked the pursuit of the enemy.

After their defeat, the Scots, indignant at the loss of honour, and inflamed with mutual animosities, turned their weapons against each other. The King successfully interposed his authority, and restored order. To give them employment, he led them to the siege of Werk. A treaty of peace was negotiated between the hostile kings, by the Papal legate, who humanely persuaded the Scots to restore all the women they had driven into captivity, and to bind themselves under the most solemn engagements neither to violate churches nor to murder any who from their age or sex were incapable of making resistance.

A. D. 1139. Persuaded of the folly of imposing a sovereign on the English people, David ratified the peace concluded at Durham, to maintain perfect amity with Stephen. The

Prince of Scotland was gratified with the earldom of Northumberland, on condition that he should do homage to Stephen as an English baron. The authority of Stephen was at this time fully established; but he imprudently alienated the affections of the clergy from his cause, and reinvolved the nation in war. Matilda being seated on the throne, invited her uncle the King of Scots to her court; but the fickle English soon deposed her, and obliged her to abscond, accompanied by her royal kinsman.

A. D. 1141. The latter escaped by a singular accident. There chanced to be in the army of Stephen, a young man named David Oliphant, to whom the King had been godfather. Actuated by the most generous feelings, Oliphant, at great personal hazard, conducted him in safety to Scotland.

From that time, David relinquished all concern in the affairs of England, and turned his attention, during the remaining years of his reign, to the civilization and government of his own kingdom. One event only disturbed the public tranquillity. An Englishman named Wimund, of obscure birth, was, by a succession of fortunate events, promoted to the see of Man. The aspiring prelate coveted the sword as well as the crosier. Pretending to be the son of Angus Earl of Moray, who fell at Strickathro', he collected a number of desperate associates, and made piratical incursions in the Western Islands. He obtained for his wife a daughter of Somerled Thane of Argyll. Bolder enterprises were now projected by him: He invaded Scotland, pillaged the country, and slew the inhabitants. David judged it prudent to enter into a treaty with the daring marauder; But he escaped not with impunity;—his people conspired against him, put out his eyes, and delivered him over to the government, by whom he was imprisoned for life in Roxburgh Castle.

A. D. 1151.

During the course of a wise administration, David established towns, erected public buildings, promoted agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. He instituted the municipal laws, commonly known by the name of *Leges Burgorum*. Royalty itself is not exempted from the miseries of humanity: Prince Henry, a youth of the greatest promise, died. His sorrowful father, overcome with grief, expired, in the seventy-third year of his age: He was found dead, in a posture of devotion. David was a perfect example of a good king: He administered justice with impartiality; and his ear was ever open to the complaints of the oppressed. His liberality to

the ecclesiastical orders was so unbounded, that James the First, King of Scotland, said of him, "he was a sore saint for the crown."

There was some reason for this sarcasm: David converted the ancient monastery of Culdees at Dunkeld into a cathedral church; he founded the bishopricks of Ross, Dunblane, and Brechin, and probably that of Caithness; he translated the see of Mortlach to Old Aberdeen, and liberally augmented its revenues; he erected an abbey at Kelso, whither he translated a colony of Benedictine monks; he founded an abbey for canons regular, at Holyroodhouse, near Edinburgh; he founded and richly endowed an abbey of the Cistertian order at Melrose; he founded an abbey of the same order at Newbottle, upon Southesk, in Lothian; he founded the priory of Lesmahagow, dependent on the abbey of Kelso; he founded an abbey of canons regular at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling—another at Kinloss in Moray—and another at Dryburgh, near the junction of the Tweed and Ledar; he founded an abbey of canons regular at Jedburgh, and converted the monastery of Dunfermline into an abbey, annexing to it the priory of Urquhart in Moray; he likewise founded a convent of Cistertian nuns at Berwick upon Tweed; and he is said to have introduced into Scotland the Knights Templars and the Knights of St John of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER V.

Malcolm the Fourth. Insurrection of Somerled. Transactions with England. Insurrections. Malcolm's character. William. War with England. He is made prisoner—regains his liberty and betrays his country. Ecclesiastical disputes. Disturbance in Galloway. Independence of Scotland restored. Character of William. Alexander the Second. War with England. Insurrections in Caithness and Galloway.

A. D. 1153. MALCOLM the FOURTH.—Malcolm, vulgarly styled *the Maiden*, from his effeminate countenance, succeeded his grandfather. Upon the death of his father Prince Henry, Malcolm had been sent on a solemn progress through Scotland, and proclaimed heir to the crown. He was only twelve years of age when he ascended the throne. His accession was no sooner announced, than Somerled Thane of Argyll excited an insurrection. To avenge the wrongs of his son-in-law Wimund, was the ostensible cause, but his real motives were ambition and contempt of the young king. The various events of this war are unknown. Although the

incursions of the turbulent chief shook not the stability of the throne, they distracted the kingdom, and spread consternation among its inhabitants. Somerled at length agreed to terms of accommodation with Malcolm, and kept the peace during the succeeding seven years.

Upon the demise of Stephen, Henry the Second succeeded to the throne of England. Instead of performing his solemn engagements, that he would cede to David and his heirs the country lying between the Tyne and the Tweed, he demanded the restitution of those territories which the King of Scots held in England. The kings had an interview at Chester. Prudence induced Malcolm to relinquish what he could not defend against a monarch so ambitious as Henry. The King of Scots did homage in the same form that his grandfather had done to Henry the First, "reserving all his dignities;" and Henry in return conferred on him the honour of Huntingdon.

Whether this unequal agreement is ascribed to the inexperience of Malcolm, or to the treachery of his ministers, whom Henry had corrupted, it was dishonourable to the Scots, and produced universal discontent in the nation.

Ambitious of receiving the honour of knighthood from Henry, Malcolm repaired to the English court at Carlisle. Henry refused the expected favour, and the disappointed prince returned to his kingdom in disgust. It was one of the maxims of chivalry in those romantic times, that a king ought not to be crowned until he had been knighted. Intent therefore upon his favourite pursuit of knighthood, Malcolm passed over to France, and fought under the banners of Henry, who rewarded him with the honour his valour had merited. But it had nearly cost him his kingdom; for, when his nobles saw him compromise his dignity for a paltry honour, they broke out into open insurrection; and their resentment was suppressed with difficulty, by the influence and address of the clergy.

A. D. 1160. An insurrection in Galloway at this critical period enabled Malcolm to employ his factious nobles, and to conciliate the affections of his people by the display of his personal valour. Twice he invaded Galloway, and was as often repulsed. The intrepid prince made a third and more successful effort, overcame his enemies in battle, and constrained them to implore peace.

A. D. 1161. The inhabitants of Moray had often rebelled against the government. No treaties or oaths could bind them —no conciliatory measures could win them to their duty.

With a bold and desperate policy, Malcolm dispossessed them of their habitations, scattered them over Scotland, and planted new colonies in their room. Yet this policy was not attended with the desired effects: Nine years after, the inhabitants of Moray again rebelled.

A. D. 1164. Somerled invaded Scotland, and landed with a powerful force at Renfrew. The inhabitants of the county repulsed his army with great slaughter; and the chief, with his eldest son, fell in battle.

Malcolm died at Jedburgh. A character very inconsistent with truth has been drawn for him by the early historians. An opinion early prevailed that he had devoted himself to pure celibacy. Agreeably to this notion, he has been represented as chaste even to monastic perfection, mild and inoffensive, careless of all temporal concerns, and too deeply employed in divine contemplations to discharge his secular duties. It is now known that the pure celibacy of Malcolm must be placed among the fables of history; for, from a grant which he made to the abbey of Kelso, it appears that he had a natural son. From the events of his reign, Malcolm seems to have been headstrong and active, immoderately ambitious of military fame, intrepid and persevering in war, and one who could plan and execute the measures of a bold and dangerous policy. He founded an abbey for monks of the Cistertian order, at Cupar in Angus, during the year before his death. In the same year, the abbey of Paisley was founded for the monks of Clugny, by Walter the Steward of Scotland.

A. D. 1165. William, surnamed the Lion.—In order to obtain the county of Northumberland, bequeathed to him by his grandfather David, William repaired to the court of Henry, hoping that a personal interview would bring the negotiation to a speedy and amicable termination. Contrary to the opinion of all his courtiers, he passed over into France, served under the banners of Henry, and was amused with flattering promises.

A. D. 1168. Indignant at Henry's insincerity, he sent ambassadors to France, and concluded a treaty with that kingdom against England. This is the first authentic evidence of the intercourse between France and Scotland, so honourable to the latter and so fatal.

William still lingered at the court of England; but having failed in obtaining what he had no good reason to expect from Henry, he left England in disgust. The Prince of Wales, ambitious and ill-advised, persuaded Wil-

A. D. 1173.

liam to join him in a confederacy against his father; and promised him the earldom of Northumberland as far as the Tyne, and to his brother David the earldom of Cambridge. William invaded England; but failed in his attempts on Werk and Carlisle: The English crossed the Tweed, and wasted the Southern counties of Scotland.

The Scots were more unfortunate in a second invasion. Having advanced as far as Alnwick, William imprudently weakened his army, by detaching numerous foraging parties, that wasted, pillaged, and slaughtered, with every excess of barbarous licence, while he himself remained with a select party to watch the castle. The Yorkshire barons, feeling a generous indignation at these outrages, hastened to the aid of their neighbours. Ralph de Glanville, afterwards the famous Justiciary of England, with a band of about four hundred gallant horsemen, encumbered with heavy armour, after a fatiguing march during the night, approached the Scottish camp unobserved, under cover of a thick mist. William, who was then in the fields with a slender train of about sixty horsemen, at the approach of the enemy, mistook them for a party of his own stragglers returning loaded with spoil;—but the display of the English banners soon undeceived him. Perceiving his error, he exclaimed, "Now it will be seen who is a true knight;" and instantly charged the enemy. He was dismounted in the first shock, and made prisoner. His companions voluntarily shared his fate. He was conducted to Newcastle that very evening; and was soon after presented to Henry at Northampton, with circumstances of insult which disgraced the victor rather than the captive. To gratify his A. D. 1174. } vanity and revenge, William was sent to Normandy, there to be exhibited as a trophy of Henry's good fortune.

Meanwhile, the Scottish army, agitated with terror and blind resentment, assaulted their companions of English extraction, and put many of them to the sword; after which, they abandoned their dishonourable booty, and dispersed themselves. William continued in captivity only a few months; but he purchased his liberty by surrendering the independence of his country. With the consent of his barons and clergy, he became Henry's liegeman for Scotland, and for all his other territories.

The Scottish clergy had the address, by a studied ambiguity of expression, to stand firm to their privileges, and reserve the question of the independence of the Scottish church to be discussed at a more propitious season. For the per-

formance of this infamous treaty, William consented to deliver up to the English, as a pledge, the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling; and gave his brother David, and many of his chief barons, as hostages: A. D. 1175. He also, during the succeeding year, with the clergy and barons, did homage to Henry at York. In this year, the village adjacent to the Cathedral Church of Glasgow was erected into a borough, subject to the Bishop. Such was the origin of the populous and commercial city of Glasgow.

A rancorous dispute occurred between the English and Scottish ecclesiastics. The former required, agreeably to treaty, that the latter should yield that obedience to the English church which they ought and were wont to yield. A spirited reply, very dissimilar to the pusillanimity that had appeared in the late treaty, was fearlessly given by the Scottish bishops. "They had never yielded subjection to the English church," they said; "nor ought they." William and the Pope became parties in this dispute. Notwithstanding his Holiness fulminated the anathemas of the infallible church, and laid the kingdom under an interdict, the Scottish King and clergy remained inflexible. William seems to have been proud in opposing to the uttermost that pontiff before whom his conqueror Henry had bowed. At this crisis, the Pope died: His successor, Lucius the Third, reversed the infallible sentence of excommunication, recalled the interdict, and annulled the judgment of his predecessor.

The captivity of William, with his principal ministers, was the signal for kindling a civil war in Galloway. The natives of that district, availing themselves of the relaxed state of the national police, broke loose, indiscriminately murdered the English, Scots, and Normans, who had settled among them, expelled the King's officers, and threw down his castles. They then proceeded to murder each other. Gilbert, one of the chiefs of Galloway, murdered his brother that he might rule without a competitor; but, dreading the arm of avenging justice, he entreated the protection of Henry of England, offering to pay him a yearly tribute.

Though William's release probably restrained those excesses, it displayed the weakness and indigence of the Scottish state. The King led an army into Galloway; but, instead of executing justice, he contented himself with the disgraceful compromise of a pecuniary satisfaction. Even Henry of England, who had power to punish the fratricide, sold him his favour and protection for a thousand merks. The savage

Gilbert renewed his depredations. William, dreading his power, offered a treaty, which was refused.

A. D. 1186. The death of Gilbert presented a favourable opportunity to Rolland, the son of the murdered brother, to avenge his family's wrongs; which he successfully accomplished.

William married Irmangarder, daughter of Richard Viscount of Beaumont; and received as her dower the castle of Edinburgh, the feudal service of forty knights, and a yearly revenue of a hundred pounds.

A. D. 1187. Donald Bane, the grandson of Duncan the Bastard, infested the North; and, pretending a title to the crown, seized Ross and Moray: But he was slain in the neighbourhood of Inverness. The Bishop of Durham was deputed by Henry of England to levy a contribution in Scotland for the holy war; and the restitution of the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, which Henry still retained, was offered to William to induce his compliance. The Scottish barons and clergy assembled in Parliament, considering this demand as an insult, replied, with warmth, "That *they* would not consent though both their kings had *sworn* to levy them."

A. D. 1189. Henry the Second died, and was succeeded by his son Richard, surnamed *Cœur de Lion*; who generously restored Scotland to its independence. For this boon, William agreed to pay ten thousand merks Sterling. After this memorable transaction, there was no national war between the kingdoms for more than a century; which must be ascribed in a great measure to the liberal policy of Richard.

David Earl of Huntingdon, the King's brother, accompanied Richard to the Holy Land. Marvellous were the adventures and disasters of this prince. He was shipwrecked and made a captive on the coast of Egypt; he was purchased and carried thence to Constantinople by a Venetian, who was ignorant of his rank; he was there recognized, and redeemed by some English merchants. Upon his return, he was nearly shipwrecked on the East coast of Scotland. In memory of the efficacious mediation of the Virgin Mary, to whom he ascribed his deliverance, he founded a monastery at Lindores in Fife.

Harold Earl of Orkney and Caithness having rebelled, William attacked his forces, and defeated them. Upon the departure of the royal army, the refractory clans again rebelled under the sons of Harold. The King marched to the northern extremity of Scotland, seized Harold, and detained

A. D. 1197. one of his sons a hostage; who, in consequence of a third rebellion, had his eyes put out, and perished in prison.

Perceiving his declining health, William was solicitous to secure domestic peace in the event of his demise. He there-
A. D. 1201. fore assembled the barons of his kingdom at Musselburgh; where they swore fealty to his infant son Alexander. A dispute occurred between William and John King of England, concerning a fortress on the Borders. The angry potentates levied their armies, and prepared to decide the difference by the sword: But the barons of both kingdoms interfered, and terms of peace were adjusted. John promised to demolish the castle of Tweedmouth. William agreed to pay him fifteen thousand merks for procuring his friendship and fulfilling certain conventions between them. Of this sum, ten thousand merks were advanced by the barons, and six thousand by the boroughs. This fact seems to prove that Scotland had some resources from industry and trade even in the thirteenth century.

New troubles were excited in the North by Guthred, a descendant of Duncan the Bastard. The rebel chief was betrayed into the hands of the Government, and put to death by William Comyn, Justiciary of Scotland.

William died at Stirling; and was interred in the abbey of Arbroath, which he had founded in honour of Thomas à Becket. If we except his improper alliance with Prince Henry, and his temerity at Alnwick, William's public character was above mediocrity. His severity in the administration was indispensable among a fierce and untractable people. So active was he in quelling insurrections, that he pursued the delinquents to their most distant retreats. His private character seems to have been more exceptionable. In his earlier years, he debauched young ladies of quality, and bestowed his illegitimate daughters on the principal barons.

It is probable that William was the first of the Scottish kings who assumed a coat armorial. On his seal, the *lion rampant* first appears; and, from that circumstance, he received the appellation of *the Lion*: Hence also, the chief of the heralds in Scotland is termed *Lion King at Arms*.

A. D. 1214. ALEXANDER the SECOND.—Alexander succeeded his father, and was crowned at Scone, in the seventeenth year of his age. An insurrection in Moray, headed by Donald Macwilliam, was quickly suppressed. According to the savage practice of a barbarous age, the rebel's head was triumphantly brought to the young monarch. A civil war between John and his barons distracted the English nation. The malecontents solicited the assistance of Alexander,

and promised him the surrender of Carlisle and the investiture of Northumberland.

The Scots advanced to Norham Castle; which they besieged without success. Eager to wreak his vengeance on the disaffected barons and their Scottish allies, John desolated Yorkshire and Northumberland. His soldiers tortured the inhabitants, to extort a discovery of their concealed wealth. They then penetrated into Scotland; burned Dunbar and Haddington; but they were obliged to retrace their steps, for want of sustenance. In their retreat, they burned
A.D. 1216. the priory of Coldingham and town of Berwick. Alexander imitated this fury of devastation, and wasted the Western marches with fire and sword.

A body of Gallowaymen, having burned the monastery of Holmculhun in Cumberland, were swallowed up by the river Eden on their return. The accident was represented as a judgment for their sacrilege, and the rest of those ferocious plunderers were dismissed from the army.

Lewis, the son of the King of France, landed a body of troops in England, for the purpose of coöperating with the discontented English, and the Scots who had engaged to support them. The confederates had pledged themselves not to make a separate peace; but the French having suffered a defeat at Lincoln, judged it prudent to save themselves, and deserted their allies. The Scots were consequently compelled to make a precipitate retreat, and to seek reconciliation with the See of Rome, to avert the horrors of excommunication. The Papal legate was appointed arbiter of the differences between the Scots and English. The King of Scots married
A.D. 1221. Joan, Henry's sister; and Henry undertook to provide suitable matches for the two sisters of Alexander.

An insurrection in Argyll led the King thither with an army. The rebels purchased forgiveness, and gave hostages. Several of their leaders, despairing of pardon, fled from the King's resentment. Their lands were divided among his followers.

About the same time, Adam Bishop of Caithness was murdered and burned by the men of his diocese, for rigorously exacting his tithes. The punishment of the delinquents was rigorous and cruel. The King instantly repaired to Caithness, and executed four hundred of the suspected murderers. The sequel was an outrage upon justice and humanity: The sufferers' children were emasculated, that the race of such miscreants might be utterly extinguished. The Earl of Caith-

ness, who was implicated in the transaction, was murdered by his servants.

A.D. 1229. Moray became again the scene of tumult. One Gillespie burned some wooden castles and fired Inverness. He at first successfully resisted the King; but he was afterwards defeated and slain by Buchan, the Justiciary of Scotland.

The Gallowaymen, irritated by domestic strife, burst into Scotland with merciless fury. In leading an army against them, the King had nearly perished in a morass. The insurgents were reduced, and peace was restored. Alexander's

A.D. 1239. Queen having died, he married Mary, the daughter of a great lord in Picardy. She bore him a son, who was named Alexander. A war was nearly kindled between the Scots and English. Alexander marched to the Borders with

A.D. 1244. an army of a hundred thousand men. This unanswerable argument quickly restored peace.

The King died in one of the Western Islands, in the fifty-

A.D. 1249. first year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign. He was interred in the abbey of Melrose. Alexander was one of the wisest princes that ever reigned in Scotland. His government displayed magnanimity and an ardent love of justice, as it was then understood; and he was revered after death, as "the friend of the poor, the shield of the church, and the restorer of his country's liberty."

CHAPTER VI.

Alexander the Third. Alliance and transactions with England. A regency. The Norwegians invade Scotland—are defeated—cede the Hebrides to the Scots. Historical Sketch of the Hebrides. Spirit of the Scottish clergy. Misfortunes and death of Alexander. His character. Margaret. A regency. Queen's death.

A.D. 1249. ALEXANDER the THIRD.—Alexander was only eight years of age when he succeeded his father. Some of the Scottish counsellors objected against his coronation: "The day appointed for that ceremony was," they said, "unlucky;" and the prince had not been knighted,—which in that age was deemed indispensable. William Comyn, Earl of Menteith, had the address to supersede the prejudices of superstition, and to maintain an appearance of reverence for the usages of chivalry. He represented the danger of delay, as the King of England had solicited a mandate from the Pope, declaring that Alexander being his liegeman, ought

not to be anointed or crowned without his permission. Comyn therefore proposed that the Bishop of St Andrew's should perform the ceremonies of knighthood and inauguration. To this artful proposition all assented. The coronation-oath was read in Latin, and expounded in French. On this occasion, a Highland bard, dressed in a scarlet robe, repeated, on his knees, and in the Gaelic language, the genealogy of Alexander, from Fergus the first king of Scotland.

With Alexander commenced a series of royal minorities which occasioned much misery to Scotland during several centuries. The King had been betrothed, when an infant, A.D. 1251. to the princess Margaret of England. Their nuptials were now celebrated at York. The princess's portion was five thousand merks. On this occasion, Alexander did homage to Henry for his English possessions. The latter insidiously demanded homage for the kingdom of Scotland; but the King, with prudence and resolution superior to his years, replied, "That he had been invited to York to marry the Princess of England, not to treat of affairs of state; and that he could not take so important a step without the concurrence of the national council."

During the King's minority, the intrigues of interest and the effervescence of ambition blasted the national prosperity. The Comyns, a potent family, had held the chief sway in Scotland for some years. By Henry's influence, they were supplanted by another faction, devoted to his interest. An instrument was drawn up, vesting the government of the kingdom in fifteen persons during the King's minority. The crown rents, wards, and escheats, were to be at their disposal; but the royal castles were to remain in the power of the present possessors.

A.D. 1256. Alexander and his Queen visited London; where Henry renewed to his son-in-law the grant of the honour of Huntingdon. Another change of the regency took place. The Comyns, aided by a faction of ecclesiastics, seized the persons of the King and Queen, and dispersed the partisans of England. They concluded an alliance offensive and defensive with the Welsh, who were then in arms against Henry.

The political convulsions in an ignorant and barbarous age are sudden and violent. A new regency, comprehending a mixture of the contending factions, was formed; which restored tranquillity. The King and Queen of Scots again visited London. To calm the apprehensions of their jealous subjects, Henry made oath that he would not,

A.D. 1260.

contrary to their inclination, detain either the King, the Queen, or their children, should they have issue during their stay. The young Queen soon after bore Alexander a daughter; who was named Margaret.

A.D. 1262. Haco King of Norway threatened Scotland with an invasion;—to prevent which, the King of England interposed his good offices. In the succeeding year, the Norwegians landed at Largs in Cunningham. The Scots attacked and defeated them. Their fleet was dispersed and shattered by a storm. Haco, disgraced and dispirited, retreated to Orkney, to deplore his misfortunes and die.

A. D. 1266. This decisive victory brought to a close a very tedious negotiation for the purchase of the Western Islands. Magnus, the successor of Haco, consented to relinquish them, with all his rights and claims, in consideration of four thousand merks and a yearly tribute of one hundred. As many of the Scandinavian inhabitants as chose, were allowed to leave the islands, with their effects. The Orkney and Shetland islands remained to Norway. The cession of the Hebrides proved a valuable acquisition to the Scots: It tended to exclude foreign invasion and to prevent domestic troubles.*

* The following historical sketch of the Western Islands may not be unacceptable. When the Romans circumnavigated Britain, they saw rather than explored the Hebrides. The Roman historians give very imperfect descriptions of them. Ptolemy's information was derived from the Roman officers who visited them. Their original name was Ebudæ or Hebudæ. The modern name is supposed to be a slight deviation from the ancient, from the carelessness of a transcriber changing the *u* into *ri*. The Hebrides must have been colonized from the opposite shores. At the period when the Romans abdicated Britain, the inhabitants of those isles must have been very few, owing to the barrenness of the soil, the humidity of the climate, and the want of commerce. They were originally governed, like Caledonia, by many chieftains, connected only by the slight ties of a common language and religion, and of similar customs and habits. Unable to resist a foreign enemy, they became a prey, during the early ages, to piratical invaders. The Hebrides seem to have been under the dominion of the Scots or Picts at an early period. Brudens, the Pictish king—or, as some say, Conal the King of Scots—made Columba the saint a present of the island of Iona, where he could instruct, and whence he could send out his missionaries to propagate the Christian faith through the wide extent of the neighbouring islands. In the end of the ninth century, a number of freebooters, expelled from Norway, took shelter in the Hebrides; whence they made descents upon their native country. To punish their temerity, Harold *the Light-haired* pursued them to their retreat, and made a rapid conquest of the Hebrides. Ketil, one of his generals, whom he had left as viceroy, rebelled, and erected the standard of independence. The kings of Norway, exempted from their piratical visitations, disregarded those nominal subjects. The Scots and Picts were not sufficiently incorporated to have leisure for distant conquests.

A civil war arose in England. John Comyn, John de Baliol, and Robert Bruce, led a numerous body of Scotsmen to Henry's aid. They were involved in his defeat, at Lewes; but they regained their liberty after the battle of Evesham. From this period, Alexander was employed for several years in maintaining the independence of the Scottish church against the pretensions of the Pope, and in restraining the encroachments of the clergy. In both these difficult operations, his firmness and prudence were attended with success.

Even the Scottish clergy became jealous of the insidious policy of the Pontiff. They disobeyed his legate: They began to feel their own power, and they exerted it. Being required by Clement the Fourth to pay a tenth of their benefices to the King of England, as an aid for an intended crusade, they unanimously refused; and said, that "Scotland itself would equip a competent proportion of crusaders." Accordingly, the Earls of Atholl and Carrick, with many of the barons, left their native country for Palestine, but never returned.

A. D. 1268.

The bright prospects that had opened to the nation were unexpectedly obscured. Events followed in rapid succession, afflicting to the King, and which ultimately involved the nation in the miseries of a civil war. Within one year, Alexander the Prince of Scotland, and his sister Margaret, who had been married to Eric King of Norway, died. The Prince had no issue. Margaret left an only daughter,—Margaret, commonly called the Maiden of Norway.

Deeply afflicted by these misfortunes, Alexander assembled a Parliament, in order to settle the succession to the Crown. The nobles solemnly bound themselves to acknowledge Margaret of Norway as their sovereign,—"failing any children that Alexander might have, and failing the issue of the Prince of Scotland, deceased." Bereaved of all his children, Alex-

For some centuries, the Hebrides were governed by a chief who resided in Man, and assumed the title of king. In the end of the eleventh century, during the usurpation of Donald Bane, the King of Norway resumed his ancient claim as superior of those isles, and appointed a viceroy. Upon assuming his office, that officer paid ten merks of gold; but made no other pecuniary acknowledgment during life; and that nominal subjection continued until they were permanently ceded to the Scots.

These new allies were, however, for a long time rather turbulent neighbours, and were the scourge of the Northern part of the kingdom. Their descents were like the devastations of a tempest, and gave the Scottish monarchs full employment. Even until the act of 1748, which abolished heritable jurisdictions, the great Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, often kept the neighbouring country in a state of alarm.

ander married Joleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux. Scarcely had the nuptial festivities ceased, when the King, riding in the twilight, between Burntisland and Kinghorn, was thrown from his horse, over a precipice, and instantly killed. He died in the forty-fifth year of his age and the thirty-seventh of his reign.

The superstition of the age ascribed his death to the Divine judgment, because he was going to visit his Queen in the season of Lent. His memory was long and affectionately cherished, for his incessant attention to the impartial administration of justice. He made an annual progress through his kingdom, and held itinerant courts of justice in every quarter. An interposition of the sovereign to overawe the courts of justice, appears, in these days of legislative perfection, an infringement of civil liberty; but our forefathers felt and appreciated the happy consequences of those royal acts of beneficence. Towards England his conduct was judicious. He had many inducements to cultivate peace with that kingdom; yet he never consented to any concession which might affect the honour or independence of his crown. Though he could not reform the rude and licentious manners of his country, he set an amiable example of virtue and temperance in his conduct; an inestimable blessing to a nation.

A. D. 1286. MARGARET.—In consequence of the absence and infancy of the Maiden of Norway, the Parliament appointed a regency of six: The Bishop of St Andrew's, the Earls of Fife and Buchan, were elected for the administration of the counties north of the Forth; the Bishop of Glasgow, John Comyn Lord of Badenoch, and James the Steward of Scotland, were intrusted with the government of the dis-

A. D. 1289. trict south of that boundary. The Earl of Fife was murdered; his colleague the Earl of Buchan died; dissentions immediately arose among the remaining four; and anarchy was likely to ensue. Eric King of Norway interposed, and sent plenipotentiaries to treat with Edward concerning the affairs of the infant Queen and her kingdom.

That monarch had already formed the salutary project of marrying his son to the young princess. He obtained a dispensation from the Pope to sanction their union, and the Scots readily acquiesced in the proposal. The Parliaments of both kingdoms were consulted, and the conditions agreed upon were favourable to the liberty and honour of Scotland.

A. D. 1290. The King of Norway, from affection or policy, hesitated to yield up his only child. Meanwhile, the

crafty Edward busied himself with intrigues for obtaining possession of the Scottish fortresses. Divided as the Scots were, they disdained to sacrifice that independence which was to be soon wrested from them, and Edward judged it prudent to desist. While the guardians of the kingdom were preparing to receive their sovereign, the child of so many anxious hopes, the fair system of alliance between the two nations was overthrown. The young Queen sailed from Norway, sickened on her passage, landed in Orkney, lingered there, and died.

The progeny of Alexander was now extinct; the regency was superseded; the tie that united England and Scotland was broken. The nation had looked no farther in the settlement of the succession than to the descendants of Alexander. The families that were connected by blood with royalty, secretly and cautiously prepared to assert their several rights. The nobles, consulting their private interests, formed into factions; and the nation, in gloomy silence, anticipated the calamities of a civil war.

BOOK THE THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

Interregnum. Competition for the Crown. State of the nation. Baliol declared King. The Scots invade England. The English capture Berwick—defeat the Scots at Dunbar. Abject conduct of Baliol—who abdicates the throne.

A. D. 1290. AN INTERREGNUM.—The posterity of William the Lion having become extinct by the death of the Princess Margaret, the right of succession reverted to the issue of William's brother, David Earl of Huntingdon. His male line being extinct, the succession opened to the posterity of his daughters, Margaret, Isabella, and Adama. Margaret left one daughter, married to John Baliol, by whom she had a son of the same name; Isabella, the second sister, had a son, Robert Bruce; and Adama was the mother of John Hastings.

There appeared no fewer than thirteen competitors for the crown; but, of these, ten either renounced their pretensions

or withdrew their appearance: The competition for the crown was therefore limited to Baliol, Bruce, and Hastings; each of whom supported by plausible reasons the preference of his claim. Baliol was sprung from the eldest branch; and, if the principle of representation was regarded, he was entitled to the preference. Bruce was one degree nearer the common stock; if propinquity was considered as conveying a prior claim, he was entitled to the preference. Hastings alleged that the kingdom of Scotland, like many other inheritances, was divisible; and that he, in right of his mother, had a title to a third of it. Baliol and Bruce united against Hastings in maintaining that the kingdom was indivisible.

Though the dispute between Baliol and Bruce, according to the rules of succession now recognized, would be decided in favour of the former, yet each of these rivals was supported by a powerful faction.

On the news of the Queen's death, Bruce unexpectedly appeared at Perth, with a formidable retinue. Baliol resided in England at this critical period; but his secret friend William Fraser, Bishop of St Andrew's, watched over his interests with dark and dangerous policy. "We shall be involved in blood," said he to King Edward, "unless, by your prudent interference, an instant remedy is provided."

The latter was too sagacious and interested not to discern the full import and utility of this insinuation. In order, as was pretended, to avoid the miseries of a civil war, he was chosen umpire; and both parties agreed to acquiesce in his decision. One hundred and four commissioners were chosen; whom he commanded to examine the cause deliberately, and make their report to him; and he promised, that, by the ensuing spring, he would make known his determination.

Edward's conduct, which had hitherto been ingenuous in managing this important trust, became suddenly very suspicious. He required that all the fortresses in Scotland should be delivered into his hands, that he might present the kingdom to the claimant whose right should be recognized. Such was the pusillanimity of the nobles and the impatience of the competitors, that the exorbitant demand was granted. The Earl of Angus, who commanded the castles of Forfar and Dundee, was the only nobleman who had discernment and resolution to penetrate and oppose the designs of Edward. He refused to surrender the castles in his custody without a formal and particular acquittal from Parliament; which he obtained.

A. D. 1291.* An universal homage was now required. All who came were admitted to swear fealty: They who came and refused were to be arrested until performance; they who sent excuses were to have the validity of their excuses tried at the ensuing Parliament; and they who openly refused were to be committed to close custody. Many ecclesiastics, barons, and even simple burgesses, hastened to swear fealty to Edward.

Resolved to regulate the succession to the crown of Scotland, and ultimately to revive his own obsolete claim of feudal sovereignty, Edward desired the nobility and clergy of Scotland to meet him at Norham, within the English territories. They obeyed. The Justiciary of England, in his master's name, after an affected profession of his good-will and affection to the whole nation, required their hearty recognition of his title as Lord Paramount. The assembly stood motionless and silent. At length, some one had the courage to reply, "No answer can be made while the throne is vacant." "By holy Edward, whose crown it is that I wear," cried the King, "I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt." The Scots, embarrassed and intimidated, requested and obtained a delay of three weeks, to consult with their countrymen: But their mutual distrusts and animosities, the treachery of Bishop Fraser, the interested views and the pusillanimity of the competitors, rendered the influence of Edward irresistible, and overthrew the national independence.

At the adjourned conference, Bruce and Baliol, with the other expectant of royalty, assented publicly and unequivocally to the claim of Edward, as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and bound themselves to submit to his award.

The competition was finally decided in the castle of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and Edward decreed that Baliol should have seisine of the kingdom of Scotland.

A. D. 1292. JOHN BALIOL.—Baliol swore fealty to Edward on the 20th November; in ten days after, was crowned at Scone; and he closed the humiliating scene by doing homage for the kingdom of Scotland at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. It soon appeared that the Lord Paramount aimed at the absolute sovereignty of the whole kingdom. He at once threw off the mask; and commanded that all appeals should be

* This year, coal-mines were first worked in Scotland, as appears in a charter of William of Obervill, granting liberty to the monks of Dunfermline to dig coals, for their own use, in the lands of Pittencrief.

made to England. He even required King John himself, by six different summonses, on trivial occasions, to appear at London, and refused him the privilege of defending himself by a procurator. Baliol, though a prince of a soft and gentle spirit, was highly provoked by these indignities, and determined at all hazards to assert his liberty. The Scottish Parliament assembled at Scone, advised him to dismiss all his English attendants, who were regarded and hated as spies. With the Parliament's approbation, he concluded a treaty with Philip of France; and, to strengthen the alliance, Baliol's son married the daughter of the Count of Anjou, and the niece of Philip. Both princes bound themselves to assist each other, if attacked by the English, and not to conclude a separate peace,—a nugatory obligation often required and always disregarded.

A. D. 1295. In consequence of this treaty, the Scots, with a mighty force, invaded Cumberland, and wasted the country. They assaulted Carlisle; but were repulsed by the bravery of the women; who flew to the walls to assist in the defence, after the town was in flames. Nor were they more successful in a second inroad into England. Though they burned the nunnery of Lamelay and the monastery of Corebridge, dedicated to St Andrew, they were repulsed at Harbottle, and retired in disorder.

Meanwhile, Edward, with a numerous and well-disciplined army, hastened to chastise his rebellious vassals. The Scottish Parliament, placing little reliance on the vigour and abilities of their prince, assigned him a council of twelve noblemen; in whose hands the sovereignty was really lodged. An army of forty thousand foot and five hundred horse marched to the Borders, to defend the provinces that Edward was preparing to attack. Robert Bruce and his son, the Earls of March and Angus, prognosticating the ruin of their country, endeavoured, by an early submission, to conciliate the favour of Edward.

The Scots had the precaution to throw a strong garrison into Berwick. Edward assaulted it by sea and land. His fleet was burned or disabled; but his army took and sacked the town, put the garrison to the sword, and indiscriminately butchered the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. Sir William Douglas, the commander of the castle, with about two hundred men only, escaped the carnage. They were permitted to retire with military honours, after having made oath never to bear arms against England. Before the loss of Berwick, Baliol had, by the advice of his Parliament,

renounced the allegiance and fealty which he had sworn to Edward. This renunciation was communicated to Edward after the capture of Berwick, and was most favourable to his political views. He received the instrument with contempt rather than with anger. "The foolish traitor!" said he to Baliol's messenger; "since he will not come to us, we will go to him."

The fate of Baliol and his kingdom was soon decided. Edward despatched Earl Warenne with a chosen body of troops to recover the castle of Dunbar, which had been betrayed to the Scots by the lady of the Earl of March. While the English pressed the siege, the garrison agreed to surrender, unless relieved within three days. On the third day, the whole forces of Scotland appeared in order of battle on the heights above Dunbar. Warenne marched against them. The impatient Scots abandoned the advantage of the ground, and poured down tumultuously on the foe; but they were broken and dispersed. Twenty thousand of the fugitives were slain or captured.

On the day after the battle, Edward arrived with the remainder of his troops; when Richard Siward, the governor of the castle, surrendered at discretion. The victor let loose a detachment of Irish and Welsh troops to pursue and massacre the fugitives into the recesses of their country. The castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were successively surrendered to the English.

The unfortunate and pusillanimous Baliol implored the mercy of his enemy. Divested of his royal ornaments, and bearing a white rod in his hand, he performed a most humiliating feudal penance. He confessed his various transgressions; acknowledged the justice of the English invasion and conquest; and declared, that, of his own free consent, he resigned Scotland, his people, and their homage, to his liege lord Edward. This disgraceful transaction took place in the Churchyard of Montrose.

Thus ended the short and disastrous reign of John Baliol. He accepted the kingdom from Edward on dishonourable terms. His efforts to assert the national independence were unsuccessful, because the enterprise was beyond his strength; and his French allies beheld his ruin with the utmost indifference.

CHAPTER II.

Interregnum. Policy of Edward. State of Scotland. Sir William Wallace—his first exploits—defeats the English at Stirling—is appointed governor of the kingdom. English invade Scotland. Battle of Falkirk. A regency. English defeated at Roslin. Edward penetrates into the North of Scotland. Obstinate defence of Brechin Castle. Scotland subdued. Fate of Wallace.

A.D. 1296. AN INTERREGNUM.—After the abdication of Baliol, Edward proceeded northward as far as Elgin. The Scottish nobles and many of the clergy hastened to pacify his resentment, by swearing fealty and abjuring the French alliance. Having brought the kingdom to a state of apparent subjection, he returned home, carrying with him the *fatal stone*, which was conveyed to Westminster. He gave orders to destroy the records and monuments which might preserve the memory of the independence of Scotland. The great seal of Baliol was broken, and he was committed to the Tower; but, in two years after, he was restored to liberty, and retired to France; where he died.

The first acts of Edward's administration were apparently moderate and politic. He held a Parliament at Berwick, and received the formal submission of the clergy and laity of Scotland. *Robert Bruce*, the younger Earl of Carrick, concurred in this disgraceful submission. In return, he ordered the estates of the clergy to be restored; he granted possession of their jointure lands to the widows of many Scottish barons; and he even made a decent provision for the wives of many of his prisoners. Few of those who had held offices under Baliol were displaced; and he in general suffered the numerous jurisdictions throughout Scotland to remain with their ancient possessors. To conciliate the favour of the Scottish bishops, he granted them for ever the privilege of bequeathing their effects by will. The government of the Southern districts and castles was judiciously committed to the fidelity and vigilance of Englishmen.

Edward was less happy in the choice of his ministers for Scotland. Warenne, Earl of Surrey, having returned to England on account of ill health, the administration devolved upon Cressingham the Treasurer,—who was a voluptuous ecclesiastic, proud, ignorant, and opiniomative; and on Ormesby the Justiciary,—who was universally detested for his rigour and severity. The internal police of the country was disorganized; the highways were infested by robbers; contempt of government everywhere prevailed; and Edward,

engrossed with other objects of ambition, neglected the vigilance and liberality, the courage and moderation, which the exigency of affairs required.

At this crisis arose the renowned Sir William Wallace; who was descended from an ancient family in Renfrewshire, and to whom the fond admiration of his countrymen has ascribed many fabulous acts of prowess,—though his valour, sagacity, and integrity, were such as required not the embellishments of fiction. He had been outlawed for some offence; and having fled into the woods, offered himself as a leader to a few companions, whose desperate fortune or hatred of the English government had reduced them to a like necessity.

He was admirably adapted to the times in which he lived, and eminently qualified for the services he had to perform. In him were combined every popular excellence,—gigantic strength, heroic courage, incredible patience under the severest privations, a singular ability to endure hunger, fatigue, and the inclemencies of the seasons. He was magnanimous and affable; and thereby conciliated the affections of his followers. By the force of his natural eloquence, he moulded their passions to his will: By calm, intrepid, and persevering wisdom, he maintained an ascendancy over the fierce and undisciplined multitudes that resorted to his standard.

A. D. 1297. With a resolute band, he infested the English quarters. His success in these predatory expeditions attracted multitudes to his standard, who thirsted for revenge, to be his companions in arms. Of this number was Sir William Douglas. With their united forces, they attempted to surprise the English Justiciary at Scone. The Viceroy hastily fled to England; and he was followed by all the officers of state. Imboldened by their success, the Scots roved over the country, assailed castles, surprised, routed, and put to the sword the unwary English who came within their power. Many persons of rank openly countenanced or declared for their cause. Robert Bruce the younger, after some hesitation, joined the Scottish army.

Waronne the Viceroy despatched a chosen and numerous body of troops against the enemy, who were strongly posted near Irvine, formidable in numbers but enfeebled by fatal dissentions. The Scottish leaders were untractable and independent; they would neither fight, retire, nor treat by common consent. The more prudent saved themselves by humble submissions to Edward.

Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell was the only baron who adhered to Wallace: They retired indignantly towards the

North with their companions in arms. The English meantime advanced towards Stirling. Wallace hastened to guard the important passage of the Forth, and encamped behind a rising ground near the abbey of Cambuskenneth. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sir Richard Lundy, the English general ordered his troops to cross the Forth by a wooden bridge. Scarcely had a division passed over, when Wallace rushed down and attacked them in a moment, routed, and pushed them into the river. Many thousands were slain or drowned, among whom was the wretched Cressingham. The conquerors had to bewail the loss of Sir Andrew Moray, who received a mortal wound. A panic seized the English who had been spectators of the rout; they burned the bridge, abandoned their baggage, and fled to Berwick.

Scotland was once more free. The castles which the English had retained were immediately surrendered.

A great famine arose in Scotland, the consequence of bad seasons and of the neglect of cultivation. With the view of procuring sustenance to his followers, Wallace marched his whole army into the North of England. The wide tract of country from Carlisle to Newcastle was wasted with all the fury of revenge, licence, and rapacity.

Revered as the deliverer of his country, Wallace was invested by his followers with the title of Governor of Scotland, in name of King John. His talents and merit unquestionably entitled him to that high dignity; but from that period the spirit of jealousy and distrust inflamed the passions of the Scottish nobles: His elevation wounded their pride, and his meritorious services reproached their inactivity in the public cause. Such was the distracted state of the national councils, at a time when the independence of Scotland depended on its unanimity.

A. D. 1298. During these important transactions, Edward was in Flanders. Upon his return to England, he summoned the Scottish barons to a Parliament at York, under pain of rebellion. The Scots disobeyed; and the incensed monarch advanced to the Borders to punish their insolence. A body of English, commanded by Aymer de Valloins, Earl of Pembroke, landed in the North of Fife. Wallace attacked and routed them in the forest of *Black Ironside*.

Edward's aim was to penetrate into the West, and there to terminate the war. He prudently appointed a fleet, with provisions, to proceed to the Clyde and await his arrival; meanwhile he encamped at Temple-Liston, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow.

Nor were the Scots inactive at the approach of the enemy: They assembled all their strength in the interior part of the country. Robert Bruce, and John Comyn the younger of Badenoch, were among the few barons of eminence who repaired to the post of honour and danger. They advanced to Falkirk at the moment that Edward had given orders to his army to make a retrograde movement towards the Borders in consequence of a mutiny among the Welsh.

Upon receiving the intelligence of the advance of the Scots, Edward prepared to attack them. Though severely hurt by his war-horse the evening before the battle, he appeared on horseback at break of day; and, with a fortitude of spirit superior to pain, he led on his troops. Wallace ranged his infantry in four bodies, of a circular form, at the side of a small eminence in the neighbourhood of Falkirk. The archers were placed in the intervals, and about a thousand horse were posted in the rear. A morass protected them in front. The English were divided into three lines. Edward commanded the reserve. His chief dependence was upon his cavalry, which attacked the Scottish infantry on both flanks at once. The shock was gallantly withstood. In vain did the English strive to force the Scottish circle;—they could not penetrate into that wood of spears. What could be accomplished by valour, was achieved by the Scots: Their outermost ranks were brought to the ground by repeated charges; they were incessantly galled with showers of stones and arrows; they were deserted by their cavalry; and their physical strength being quite exhausted, they were broken by the numbers and weight of the English horsemen, and a total rout ensued. The loss of the English was inconsiderable; but the loss of the Scots must have been very severe.

Wallace succeeded in securing his retreat with a faithful band. They burned in their retreat the town and castle of Stirling; but Edward repaired the castle. Bruce, who had not been in the engagement, upon hearing of the defeat of his countrymen, burned the castle of Ayr, to prevent the pursuit of Edward, and then retired. After reducing Bruce's castle of Lochmaben, in Annandale, the conqueror retired by the Western Borders.

In hazarding this battle, the Scots acted with a fatal precipitancy. By protracting the war, they had it in their power to foil their enemy and save their country: Their defeat prostrated their liberty before an implacable enemy. The Scots, however, resolved to act with vigour, notwithstanding their defeat. The country beyond the Forth and Galloway re-

mained free; Wallace was superseded as guardian or regent by the Bishop of St Andrew's, Robert Bruce, and John Comyn,—who were chosen regents in the name of Baliol.
A. D. 1299. They applied to the Pope and the King of France for aid. The Pope wrote to Edward, commanding him to abstain from any farther attempts upon Scotland; and, with singular effrontery, asserted his claim as liege lord,—a claim which till then had never been heard of.

These personages necessarily consumed some time in supporting their different claims. Edward and his Parliament were inflexible, and the Pontiff judged it prudent to abate
A. D. 1300. his claims; and, with a characteristical impudence, threw the blame on the Scottish bishops. By the mediation of France, a short truce was concluded between the English and the Scots; a second truce for one year was subsequently agreed upon.

After the expiration of the truce, Edward sent an army into Scotland, under the command of John de Segrave, who conducted his troops towards Edinburgh. They were injudiciously separated into three divisions; and encamped at
A. D. 1302. such a distance from each other, that Comyn the Guardian and Simon Fraser, attacked and defeated them successively.

The Pope and the King of France proved but faithless allies to the Scots. The former deserted, and threatened to excommunicate them; the latter concluded a treaty with Eng-
A. D. 1303. land, from which the Scots were ungenerously excluded. Tantalizing hopes were still held out to the Scots by the French ministers. The former had reason to repent very speedily of their credulity; for Edward, disengaged from foreign war, bent his whole force to subdue Scotland. He fitted-out a fleet to sail along the coast, that his army might be properly supplied with provisions.

Unable to oppose the enemy, the Scots declined meeting them in unequal combat; so that Edward marched to the northern extremity of the kingdom, ravaging the open country, reducing the castles, and receiving the submission of the nobles. The only fortress that interrupted the course of his conquests, was the castle of Brechin. Sir Thomas Maule, the commander, an intrepid warrior, defended the castle until he was mortally wounded. "May we not surrender now?" said his men. "What, cowards!" said Maule, "yield up the castle!" and immediately expired. Next day, the garrison capitulated. Wallace, with a faithful band, hovered around the enemy in their march; but they were too vigilant to

afford him an opportunity of performing any signal service.

Stirling castle, commanded by Sir William Oliphant, was the only fortress that remained in possession of the Scots. Comyn the Guardian assembled an army, and encamped on the south bank of the Forth, to protect the castle, and make a final stand for the national liberty. Edward having discovered a ford, crossed the river at the head of his cavalry. The Scots fled in every direction.

There remained now no alternative for the brave but unfortunate Scots, except submission. Bruce surrendered himself to the English Warden. Comyn and his followers having stipulated for their lives, liberties, and fortunes, submitted to the conqueror. Wallace and Sir Simon Fraser, with a few others who had rendered themselves obnoxious to Edward by their patriotism, were excluded from the capitulation.

By the command of Edward, a Parliament assembled at St Andrew's; and sentence of outlawry was pronounced by that quiescent assembly against Wallace, Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling castle. That fortress, after a brave defence of three months, surrendered at discretion; and the garrison, whose valour would have been revered by a more generous conqueror, were treated with ignominy and ordered to be chained. Wallace, who had once delivered his country, and had invariably exposed himself in the hour of danger, was given up unconditionally to the mercy of Edward by his ungrateful country. As he had lived a free man, he resolved to die free: But the season of resistance was past: He therefore sought out a place of concealment, where he might silently bewail the misfortunes of his fallen country. His retreat was discovered; he was betrayed into the hands of Edward,—some say by his servant, others allege by his friend Sir John Monteith.

A. D. 1304.

Wallace was arraigned at Westminster as a traitor. "I never was a traitor," was his reply; but he pleaded guilty to the charge of having made war against the enemies of his country. Sentence of death was pronounced against him; which was immediately executed. His head was exhibited on a pinnacle at London, and his mangled limbs were sent to different parts of the country.

A. D. 1305.

Edward now proceeded to make a total settlement of the government of Scotland. And for the administration of justice to the people, sheriffs were appointed in the different districts of the kingdom. The ancient forms of administration were preserved which Edward deemed consistent with

the dependent state of the nation. An indemnity was granted to the Scots under easy conditions. Fines were imposed upon the delinquents,—in general from one to five years' rents of their estates.

CHAPTER III.

Robert Bruce and Comyn—the latter slain. Bruce crowned—is defeated at Methven—retires to Argyllshire—makes successful efforts to deliver his country—ravages England. Battle of Bannockburn.

SCOTLAND was now apparently reduced as a conquered province under the dominion of Edward. Fifteen years had he incessantly laboured, by dissimulation, craft, and violence, with a waste of treasure and blood, to subdue his weaker neighbour; yet within four months his authority was overthrown. The causes of this singular event are but imperfectly known, and they are differently related by the English and Scottish historians. John Comyn, the Guardian of Scotland, was the nephew of John Baliol, who had repeatedly renounced all claims to the crown of Scotland. Comyn therefore might be considered as possessed of his pretensions in right of blood, supported by large estates, a numerous vassalage, and approved valour; for, as Guardian of Scotland and leader of her armies, he had maintained for many years an unequal contest with Edward.

Bruce the competitor of Baliol had submitted to the decision of Edward. His son, yielding to the times, had served under the English banners. His attempts to serve his native country were feeble and irresolute. He died about the time that Stirling castle surrendered to the English; but he left a son, of a restless ambitious spirit, who in his earlier years was versatile, but whose character in maturer age became firm and consistent. In Comyn and the Earl of Carrick, the factions of Baliol and Bruce might be said to have revived.

According to traditionary report, Bruce is said to have made the following proposal to Comyn. "Support my title to the crown, and I will give you my estate; or give me your estate, and I will support yours." Comyn acquiesced: The conditions were drawn out, subscribed, and sealed by both parties. A mutual oath of secrecy was taken: But Comyn betrayed his associate to Edward; who was fired with indignation. Bruce had the address at the first to sooth and amuse the King; though it would seem that the latter only dissembled his resentment until a favourable opportunity offered of cutting off the whole family of Bruce at a blow.

The Earl of Gloucester, hearing that Edward had inadvertently intimated this design to some lords about his person, despatched a messenger to Bruce with twelvepence and a pair of spurs. The latter understood this message as an intimation of danger; and immediately set out for Scotland. Approaching the West Marches, he intercepted a messenger who was the bearer of letters from Comyn to the English King, advising the immediate imprisonment or death of Bruce. The treachery of Comyn being thus confirmed, Bruce, after visiting his castle of Lochmaben, repaired to Dumfries, where his rival resided, and obtained an interview with him before the great altar in the church of the Minorites. Bruce passionately reproached Comyn for his treachery. "You lie!" cried Comyn. Bruce stabbed him instantly. Struck with remorse or terror, he hastened out of the sanctuary, pale and agitated, and called "to horse!" His attendants, Kirkpatrick and Lindsay, anxiously inquired the cause of his flight. "I doubt I have slain Comyn," replied Bruce. "You doubt!" said Kirkpatrick; and, rushing into A. D. 1305. the church, plunged his dagger into the heart of the weltering Comyn.

The Justiciaries were holding their court when this tragical event happened. They surrendered to Bruce; and were permitted to retire out of Scotland unmolested. Lord Hailes is of opinion that Bruce had no intention of imbruing his hands in blood, nor any immediate purpose of asserting his own claims to the crown of Scotland, when he met Comyn at Dumfries; that their meeting was accidental; that Bruce, as a freeholder of Annandale, was bound to attend and protect the King's court; that Comyn's appearance there was probably owing to a similar cause; and that the slaughter of Comyn was occasioned by a hasty quarrel between two proud-spirited rivals,—originating very probably in suspicions and reports of Comyn's treachery.

Whatever was the cause, murder and sacrilege were crimes which Edward as a sovereign would not forgive; so that the only alternative left for Bruce was to be a fugitive or a king.

A. D. 1306. ROBERT.—Robert Bruce was crowned at Scone in the thirty-second year of his age, by the Bishop of St Andrew's. Edward having carried the Scottish regalia to England, Wisheart Bishop of Glasgow procured a crown, robes, and a banner for the occasion. The Countess of Buchan, sister of the Earl of Fife, had the resolution to represent her brother; to whom belonged the hereditary honour of placing the King in the inaugural chair.

But Robert had many serious obstacles to surmount in his progress to sovereign power,—the solemn oaths, and even the general inclination of the nobility; the revenge of the potent house of Comyn; the whole force of England; and the guilt of *a sacrilegious murder*: Yet no sooner was the royal standard displayed, than multitudes, animated with the love of freedom and glory, hastened to fight for their country.

When Edward was informed of the revolution in Scotland, he appointed Aymer de Valloins, Earl of Pembroke, to be his deputy in that kingdom; and although aged and debilitated, he vowed that he would take vengeance on Robert Bruce. His son, the Prince of Wales, likewise swore that he would not remain two nights in the same place until he reached Scotland. A messenger was despatched to the Pope, complaining of the slaughter of Comyn, and the violation of the sanctuary. The Pontiff without delay issued an order authorizing the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle to excommunicate Bruce and his adherents.

The first enterprise of the Scots against the English was unsuccessful. The latter attacked them at Methven, in the neighbourhood of Perth; and notwithstanding they made the most gallant resistance, they were overthrown and dispersed. Robert retired with the broken and dispirited remains of his party into the fastnesses of Atholl; thence he descended into the low country of Aberdeenshire: But, being again pursued, he retired to Breadalbane; where he was attacked by the Lord of Lorn, who had married Comyn's aunt. The royalists defended themselves with valour; but they were overpowered; and effected their retreat chiefly by the bravery of their King.

There now remained no alternative to the fugitive royalists, but to yield to their incensed pursuers, or to force a passage into Cantire, and thence to pass over to Ireland. The King and Douglas crossed over Loch-Lomond in a small leaky boat; and, while roving through the adjacent forests in quest of food, they met Lennox, who was ignorant till then of his Sovereign's fate. They all wept. Angus of the Isles, Lord of Cantire, hospitably received the King into his castle of Dunavarly: But, the better to elude the search of his enemies, he passed over to the island of Rachrin, on the northern coast of Ireland.

A severer fate awaited his friends and partisans, who fell into the hands of the English. The Queen and daughter of Bruce were treacherously delivered to their enemies; Nigil his brother was condemned and executed; the Earl of Atholl

and Sir Christopher Seaton experienced a similar fate; Sir Simon Fraser was beheaded at London, and his head placed on the point of a lance, near the head of Wallace. Many other Scotsmen of inferior rank were punished capitally; and the Cardinal Legate solemnly excommunicated Bruce and his adherents at Carlisle.

A. D. 1306. At the approach of spring, Bruce secretly passed over into the Isle of Arran; whence he made a descent on the opposite coast, surprised and routed a party of English, and pillaged their quarters. While Bruce availed himself of his victory to strengthen his party in Carrick, his companion Douglas passed secretly into Douglasdale; and, by a stratagem, gained possession of Douglas Castle, and put the English garrison to the sword.

The Earl of Pembroke advanced into the West of Scotland, to encounter Bruce. The latter was victorious. In three days after this action, he routed Ralph de Monthermer, with great slaughter. Notwithstanding these partial advantages, Bruce and his partisans were frequently reduced to great extremity. They wandered among morasses and woods, destitute of aid and beset with enemies on every side.

A.D. 1307. Meanwhile, Edward, who had wintered at Carlisle on account of severe indisposition, made vigorous preparations for quelling the insurrection in Scotland; but he died as soon as he came in sight of that country which he had devoted to destruction. He commanded that his heart should be conveyed to the Holy Land,—that his corpse should accompany the army into Scotland, and remain unburied until that country should be totally subdued. Edward the Second, who succeeded his father, marched into Scotland; and, having advanced as far as the frontiers of Ayrshire, he returned to England. Pembroke was superseded in his command as Guardian of Scotland, and the Earl of Richmond was appointed in his room.

The retreat of Edward revived the drooping spirits of Bruce and his scattered adherents. He made an unsuccessful attempt upon Galloway. He was more fortunate in the North of Scotland; which he overran without opposition. To arrest his progress, Comyn Earl of Buchan assembled a tumultuary army of Scots and English; but they fled at the first approach of the intrepid Bruce.

A.D. 1308. The ensuing year, he defeated another army commanded by Buchan and Mowbray an Englishman, near Inverury in Aberdeenshire. Though Bruce was then labouring under a grievous disease which consumed his

strength, he requested that he might be lifted from his couch and placed on horseback. Supported on each side by an attendant, he led on his troops, charged, and routed his enemy. Tradition reports, that, by the agitation of his spirits on that day, he was restored to health.

The vassals of Buchan were cruelly treated by the victors. The castle of Aberdeen was stormed, the garrison were put to the sword, and the fortifications razed. Fortune seemed to smile on Robert. His brother Edward invaded Galloway, and subdued the country. The Lord of Lorn was chastised for his ungenerous treatment of Robert after the battle of Methven. His vassals were routed, his castle of Dunstaffnage was taken, and his country spoiled.

The feeble and fluctuating counsels of Edward contributed more towards the emancipation of Scotland than the transient though brave successes of its warriors. The English Monarch, desirous to reconcile the Scots to his government, ac- A.D. 1309. cepted the mediation of Philip King of France. A truce was concluded; but it was frequently infracted, as neither party was very sincere.

The Scottish clergy, assembled in a provincial council, issued a declaration, importing, that as the English had betrayed and enslaved the kingdom, they had assumed Robert Bruce for their sovereign, and that all the clergy had willingly done homage to him in that character.

While the minds of his subjects were thus gradually reconciled to his authority, the English nobility were disgusted with the government of Edward, and reluctantly repaired to his standard. An ill-concerted and fruitless expedition was A.D. 1310. made by the English Monarch. He penetrated to Renfrew. The Scots, recollecting the disasters they had endured in hazarding the fate of the nation on a single battle, declined to encounter the English; who retired to Berwick. A grievous famine which was then in Scotland, may be said to have fought for Robert; as it must have embarrassed and retarded the motions of an army in that age, when magazines and the other resources of modern war were unknown.

A.D. 1311. The castle of Linlithgow was surprised by the stratagem of a poor peasant; who, with eight resolute companions, concealed in a load of hay which he had been employed to drive into the castle, mastered the guard, and obtained possession of the place; which was immediately dismantled. This was one of the favourite maxims of Bruce's policy. He had observed, that the English, by means of

these fortresses, had maintained themselves in Scotland with little aid from their sovereign; and he perhaps apprehended that his own barons might, in time of peace, render themselves formidable to his authority by similar means.

Robert now resolved to transfer the war to England. He ravaged the county of Durham with cruelty and licentiousness, and taught his followers to despise the military genius of a people that had long inspired them with terror. After his return, he besieged and took the town of Perth; which was plundered and burned. The Scots again invaded England, and desolated the county of Durham. The castles of Roxburgh and Edinburgh were taken by surprise. Many other fortresses in the Southern counties were won by the Scots. With his successes, the number of Bruce's partisans increased. Even the nobles who had obtained grants of land in England from Edward, to secure their fidelity, revolted to the Scots. The national spirit, so long depressed, was now revived. Bruce invaded Cumberland, and wasted the country. He landed on, subdued, and plundered the Isle of Man.

Stirling castle was the only fortress that now remained in the hands of the English: It was besieged by Edward Bruce, the King's brother. Philip de Mowbray, the governor, agreed to surrender, if he should not be relieved within seven months. Though Robert was displeased at this rash treaty, —which interrupted his military operations, and afforded a long interval to the English for assembling their utmost force, —he consented to the treaty, and resolved to encounter the English in the open field.

A.D. 1314. Edward made vigorous and immense preparations for relieving the castle of Stirling: he ordered a fleet to be assembled for invading Scotland; he invited to his aid twenty-seven Irish chiefs, and summoned his English subjects in that kingdom to attend his standard. The whole force of England was ordered to meet the King in arms at Berwick.

Bruce appointed a general rendezvous of his forces at the Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling. Their number was about thirty thousand, besides an unarmed and undisciplined multitude of about fifteen thousand, that, according to the manners of the times, followed the camp. The Scots posted themselves at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling. The field of battle was chosen with consummate skill, with the brook of Bannock on the right and Stirling on the left. The banks of the Bannock were in many places steep and rugged, and the ground between it and Stirling was partially covered

with copsewood: It was therefore well adapted for embarrassing the operations of horsemen. To increase the difficulties of the English, Robert caused many pits to be dug in rows, with narrow intervals, where it was supposed the cavalry would attempt to penetrate.

When the alarm reached the Scottish camp that Edward was approaching, Robert drew up his army in the following manner. The centre was commanded by Douglas, and Walter, the young Steward of Scotland; Edward Bruce commanded the right wing; Randolph, the King's nephew, the left; and the reserve, composed of the men of Argyll, the Islanders, and his own vassals of Carrick, was commanded by the King in person. In a valley to the rear, he placed the baggage of the army, with all the numerous and useless attendants on the camp.

Eight hundred horsemen, commanded by Sir Robert Clifford, were detached from the English army, to reinforce the garrison of Stirling castle. Robert, perceiving their movement, rode up to Randolph, and angrily reproved him for his inattention. "Thoughtless man," said he, "you have suffered the enemy to pass!" Randolph hastened to repair his fault, or perish. As he advanced, the English cavalry wheeled to attack him; but he instantly drew up his troops in a circular form, with their spears resting on the ground and protruding on every side. In a moment, the enemy, who were far superior in number, surrounded and pushed hard on the gallant Scots. The bravery and perseverance of Randolph prevailed; the English fell into disorder and retired.

When the English vanguard appeared in sight, Robert was in the front of his army, meanly mounted, with a battle-axe in his hand, and distinguished by a crown above his helmet. Henry de Bohun, an English knight, armed at all points, rushed forward to encounter him; the King instantly cleft the skull of Bohun, who fell dead at his feet. The English vanguard retired in confusion.

A. D. 1314. The memorable battle of Bannockburn was fought on Monday the 24th of June. At break of day, the English moved on to the attack. The van, consisting of the archers and lancemen, was commanded by the Earl of Gloucester, Edward's nephew, and the Earl of Hereford, Constable of England. The ground was so narrow that the rest of the English army could not be brought into action: It appeared to the Scots as composing one vast compact body. Edward, assisted by Aymer de Valloins and the renowned Giles de Argentine, brought up the main body,

The Abbot of Inchaffray celebrated mass in sight of the Scottish army: He then passed along the front barefooted, bearing a crucifix, and exhorted the Scots to combat for their rights and their liberty. The Scots kneeled. "They yield!" cried Edward, "See, they implore mercy!" "They implore not *ours*," replied one of his attendants; "on that field they will be victorious or perish."

The armies engaged. Exasperated by mutual animosities, they maintained an ardent and sanguinary conflict. Perceiving that his troops were greatly annoyed by the English archers, Robert ordered Sir Robert Keith, the Marshal, to make a circuit by the right, and, with a few armed horsemen, to attack the archers in flank. These, having no weapons, were instantly overthrown, and, falling back, spread disorder throughout the army. This movement was decisive of the battle. The gallant Earl of Gloucester, attempting to rally the fugitives, was hewn in pieces. A general confusion ensued. King Robert advanced with the reserve. At the same moment the camp attendants issued from their concealment, prompted by curiosity or eager for plunder, and seemed as if a fresh army had arrived in aid of the Scots. The English fled with precipitation: Many endeavoured to obtain shelter among the rocks in the neighbourhood of Stirling castle, and others rushed into the river and perished.

When Pembroke, who had attended on King Edward during the action, saw that the battle was irretrievably lost, he constrained him to quit the field: But d'Argentine, renowned for his prowess in the Saracen wars, said, "It is not my wont to fly;" and, putting spurs to his horse, he cried out "an Argentine!" rushed into the battle, and was slain. Edward, pursued by Douglas with sixty horsemen, rode to Linlithgow without halting. Scarcely had he refreshed himself there, when the alarm came that the Scots were approaching: He again fled; nor was he allowed a moment's respite until he reached Dunbar, full sixty miles from the field of battle. He was there received and protected by the Earl of March, who conveyed him by sea into England.

No Scotsmen of note were slain in this battle, except Sir William Vipont and Sir Walter Ross. The loss of the English was immense. Of barons and bannerets, twenty-seven were slain and twenty-two made prisoners; of knights, forty-two were slain and sixty made prisoners; of esquires, seven hundred fell. The Welshmen who served in the English army were dispersed over the country, and massacred by the peasantry. The English fugitives who had concealed them-

selves among the rocks surrendered at discretion. Stirling castle immediately surrendered; and Mowbray, the governor, entered into the service of Robert.

The Scots were enriched by the spoils of the English camp and the ransoms of many noble prisoners. The privy seal of the English King was found among the spoil. Robert, by his humanity and courtesy, alleviated the misery of his captives, and won their affections. Basten, a Carmelite friar, accompanied the English army, to record their achievements and celebrate their triumphs. He was made prisoner; and paid a poet's ransom, by writing a poem on the victory of the Scots at Banbockburn.

Such was the event of this memorable battle, in which one hundred thousand English were routed by thirty thousand Scots,—an action glorious in its circumstances, and of decisive moment. So strong an impression did the valour and good fortune of the Scots make on the English, that for a considerable time a hundred of that nation would flee from two or three Scotsmen.

CHAPTER IV.

Proceedings of Parliament in favour of Robert. The Scots invade Ireland. Attempts of the English upon Scotland. Interference of Pope John. The Scots capture Berwick—their disasters in Ireland. Settlement of the succession. The English attack Berwick. The Scots invade England. Papal bull. Remonstrance of the Scots. Alternate incursions of the Scots and English. Exploits of Douglas and Randolph. Death of Robert.

The Scots were now in a condition to retaliate upon their enemies the miseries they had so long endured. They repeatedly invaded and plundered the Northern counties of England with impunity. Being firmly seated on the throne of Scotland, and possessing the confidence and affections of his subjects, Robert conceived the opportunity favourable for settling the succession to the crown.

A.D. 1315. For this purpose, a Parliament assembled at Ayr, consisting of all the prelates and nobility; who unanimously resolved that the King's legitimate male issue should succeed to the crown agreeably to the laws of succession; that, in the event of that issue becoming extinct, the succession should devolve on his brother Edward, and descend to his legitimate male issue; that, failing these, the King's daughter Marjory, and failing her, the nearest heir lineally descended of the body of Robert, should succeed to the crown. Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, was appointed to be guar-

dian of the kingdom, and of the heir, should he be a minor, until the States should consider him of sufficient age to administer the government in his own person. The bishops and prelates of the kingdom, and their successors, were intrusted with the power of compelling all parties concerned, by all spiritual censures, to observe and fulfil the premises.

Soon after, Walter the Steward of Scotland espoused Marjory the King's daughter.

The Irish of Ulster, dissatisfied with the English government, implored the aid of the Scots, and offered to acknowledge his brother Edward as their sovereign. Of this proposal Robert unwisely accepted. His brother was sent to that country with an army of six thousand men. John of Lorn, whom the King had formerly chastised, still maintained himself in the Western Islands. Robert invaded these islands, and reduced the refractory chief.

The arms of Edward Bruce were attended with little success in Ireland, though he was solemnly crowned King. His allies were faithless; famine and disease wasted his army. His brother the King of Scots resolved to conduct in person a reinforcement to his aid; and, during his absence, he intrusted the kingdom to the Steward and Douglas. The Scots traversed the provinces of Ulster and Munster. They ravaged the country; plundered and burned religious houses and churches; and even violated the sepulchres of the dead in quest of treasures: Yet their expedition was eventually fruitless: The Irish chiefs who submitted on their approach, revolted upon their retreat; and Robert returned home with the glory of having overrun Ireland at the expense of the lives of many of his most faithful subjects.

During his absence, the English had made various attempts upon Scotland. The Earl of Arundel, with an army of English, invaded the forest of Jedburgh. They were drawn into an ambush, and defeated by Douglas. An English fleet appeared in the Frith of Forth, whence a body of troops were disembarked. The Earl of Fife, with five hundred men, attempted to oppose their landing; but, intimidated by the numbers of the English, they made a precipitate retreat. William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, meeting the fugitives, said to their leaders, "Wherefore do you fly? You deserve to have your gilt spurs hacked off." Immediately throwing aside his ecclesiastical vestment, he seized a spear, and cried, "Who loves Scotland, follow me!" The fugitives instantly
A. D. 1317. rallied, charged the enemy, and pursued them to their ships. The King was highly pleased with the intrepid-

ity of the prelate. "Sinclair shall be my bishop," said he. He was long remembered by his countrymen under the appellation of the King's bishop.

Pope John the Twenty-second issued a bull, commanding a truce for two years between England and Scotland; and he despatched two cardinals into the latter country to make known his commands, with the power of inflicting the highest spiritual censures on Robert, in case of disobedience. Their credentials were addressed to "*Robert Bruce, Governor of Scotland.*" The King declined receiving them under that title. The cardinals, however, resolved to proclaim the Papal truce in Scotland, and sent a monk with letters to the clergy, and official instruments to the King. He was denied access to the royal presence. "I will listen to no bulls," said Robert, "until I am addressed as King of Scotland, and have made myself master of Berwick." The monk, who was guardian of the Minorites in that town, was terrified at this intimation. On his return to Berwick, he was waylaid, stripped, and robbed of all his parchments and letters. The robbers tore the bull of his Holiness.

Berwick was soon after taken by a stratagem. The castle surrendered after a short siege. Walter the Steward of Scotland was appointed governor. Having acquired this important place, the Scots made successive incursions into England, penetrated into Yorkshire, and returned home with great booty and a multitude of prisoners.

With the view of intimidating the Scots, the Pope ordered his legates in England to excommunicate Bruce and his adherents. The latter treated the Pontiff's mandate with contumacy.

The ambitious project of establishing a new kingdom in Ireland on the ruins of the English power, was annihilated A. D. 1318. by the total defeat of Edward Bruce, who was slain near Dundalk. Many of his brave companions shared his fate. In consequence of his death, it became necessary to make some new regulations with respect to the royal succession. For this purpose, a Parliament assembled at Scone; the whole clergy and laity renewed their engagements of obedience to the King, and promised to assist him in the defence of the rights and liberties of Scotland, against all persons, *however eminent in power, authority, and dignity.* The Pope was understood to be referred to, as well as the English King, in this declaration. It was likewise declared, that whoever violated this engagement should be guilty of high treason without remission. In the event of the King's death

without male issue, the Parliament enacted, that the right of succession should descend to Robert Stewart, the King's grandson by his daughter Marjory. Randolph Earl of Moray, and James Lord Douglas, were nominated guardians of the kingdom and tutors of the heir, should he succeed when a minor.

Many salutary laws were enacted in this Parliament. The liberties of the Scottish church were asserted, as well as a variety of regulations respecting the polity of the kingdom. The statute well known since by the general name of *leasing-making*, was at this time enacted: The object of it was to punish such as should invent rumours by which discord might be excited between the King and the people.

Edward of England having secured domestic peace, determined to regain Berwick. He ordered an army to meet him at Newcastle, with which he advanced. He drew lines of countervallation round the town, to prevent the approach of succours. The persevering bravery of the garrison repulsed the repeated and terrible attacks of the English, who were eager to regain their ancient reputation in arms.*

As the Scots could not with any probability of success attack the English camp, they determined to make a powerful diversion in England, which they hoped would compel Edward to raise the siege. Randolph and Douglas entered England by the West Marches, with fifteen thousand men, and wasted Yorkshire. The Archbishop of York, attended by a rabble of peasants and ecclesiastics, encountered the Scots at Mitton. Their temerity was instantly punished with defeat and death. Three thousand were left on the field, and a multitude were drowned in the Swale. The Scots termed this rout "the Chapter of Mitton." The news of this defeat induced the English to discontinue the siege of Berwick. Randolph and Douglas returned home; and Edward at last entertaining serious thoughts of peace with Scotland, commissioners for negotiating a treaty were appointed by both nations, who concluded a treaty for two years.

* As fire-arms were unknown in Britain at this time, the juvenile reader may be desirous to learn what kind of machines were used by the assailants to gain possession of the walls. As the walls of Berwick were then of considerable height, the English proposed to bring a vessel close to them, and, by means of a drawbridge let down from the mast, to enter the town. It was destroyed by the besieged. Another engine of attack was called a sow. It resembled a house, having stages within it, and in height surpassed the wall. It moved upon wheels, to conduct miners as well as armed men. The Scots destroyed it by means of a moveable crane, whereby stones of immense weight were thrown upon it.

During the negotiation, the Pope, the obsequious servant of Edward, commanded his legates to publish the general sentence of excommunication against Bruce and his adherents, as well as the bull of his predecessor against the King, for the slaughter of Comyn. This unseasonable exertion of authority produced a spirited manifesto from the Scottish Parliament assembled at Aberbrothock: It asserted the absolute independence of Scotland, and declared, that while a hundred of its inhabitants survived, they would fight for their liberties. Alarmed at the boldness of the Scots, the Pontiff addressed a bull to Edward, recommending peace with Scotland; but he gave an equivocal answer to Robert's solicitation of a repeal of the sentence of excommunication.

A.D. 1320. A conspiracy, of which little is known, was discovered about this time. The traitors were capitally convicted and executed. The Parliament by which they were condemned was long remembered by the vulgar under the appellation of *the Black Parliament*. As it was understood that Edward had encouraged the malecontents, for the purpose of regaining possession of the kingdom, Randolph and Douglas secretly abetted the Earl of Lancaster and his associates in their designs against the English monarch; who, having crushed his rebellious subjects, prepared to invade Scotland. The Scots meanwhile penetrated into Lancashire, spoiled the country, and returned home loaded with extraordinary booty.

A. D. 1322. Upon the approach of the English, Robert ordered the cattle and provisions, with all effects of value, to be removed from Merse and Lothian, and retired with his army to Culross. His orders were so exactly obeyed, that a lame bull was the only prey that fell into the hands of the English. "Is that all ye have got?" said Warenne to the foragers; "I never saw so dear a beast." The English advanced as far as Edinburgh without seeing an enemy: Famine compelled them to retrace their steps. In their retreat, they plundered the abbeys of Holyrood and Melrose, burned the abbey of Dryburgh, and slew many monks. Disease, occasioned by intemperance, proved fatal to multitudes that had been spared by famine; so that, of the mighty army which had invaded Scotland, scarcely one half survived.

The Scots in their turn invaded the enemy's country, and nearly surprised Edward at the abbey of Biland, in Yorkshire; whence he escaped with difficulty, abandoning all his treasure and baggage to the enemy; who, by way of repri-

A.D. 1323. sals, murdered many ecclesiastics, and returned home unmolested. A treaty of peace for thirteen years suspended the calamities of war.

Edward the Second was deposed by the English Parliament. His son Edward the Third, a youth in his fifteenth year, succeeded him, and ratified the truce which his father had made with the Scots.

A.D. 1326.

Hostilities recommenced before the expiry of the treaty. Either the Scots had detected the bad faith of the English, or the latter had provoked their resentment by seizing some Scottish ships bound for the Low Countries, slaying the crews, and refusing to make satisfaction. Whatever was the cause, Randolph and Douglas invaded England with an army of twenty thousand cavalry. Young Edward put himself at the head of fifty thousand men, and advanced to meet the enemy.

The Scottish commanders had resolved to pursue a desultory mode of warfare. Inured to hardships, fatigue, and danger, they were perfectly qualified, by their habits of life, for hazardous enterprises. Their army was mounted on small horses, that found subsistence everywhere, and carried their riders with safety and speed. Edward found the greatest difficulty in following an army so rapid in its motions. Though the smoke and flame of burning villages directed him to the place of their encampment, he found, upon hurrying thither, that they had removed to some distant quarter. After harassing his army for some time in this fruitless chase, he crossed the Tyne, with the design of intercepting their retreat; but he was compelled to return southwards,—as the country, already exhausted, could yield no subsistence to his troops.

Finding at last that the enemy had encamped on the banks of the Were, he challenged them to meet him in an open field. The Scottish chiefs pertinently replied, that "they never took the counsel of an enemy in any of their operations." The gallant Douglas boldly attempted to surprise and capture the English Monarch in his tent. With a trusty band, he eluded the vigilance of the English sentinels, and penetrated unobserved to the royal tent. His followers raised the shout of "A Douglas, a Douglas! English thieves, you shall all die!" and furiously assaulted the King's tent. Edward escaped with difficulty; his domestics were slain; and the Scots, disappointed of their prey, rushed through their enemies, and retired with inconsiderable loss. Next day, the young King learned that the enemy had retreated towards their own country.

A.D. 1327.

An unsuccessful war, an exhausted treasury, and domestic discord among the great lords, induced the English Government to think seriously of peace. As the basis of a treaty, it was proposed that the Princess Joan of England should marry David the young Prince of Scotland. Plenipotentiaries being appointed on both sides, they met at Newcastle, and drew up certain articles of pacification; which were ratified by a Parliament assembled at Northampton. In this memorable treaty, Edward renounced all claims of superiority over Scotland, acknowledged Bruce as the King of Scots, and promised to employ his good offices at the Papal court for obtaining a revocation of the spiritual censures issued against him. The *fatal stone*, which Edward the First had carried to Westminster, was to be restored to the Scots.

A.D. 1328.

For these causes, and in order to make reparation for the ravages committed in England by his troops, Robert agreed to pay thirty thousand merks to the King of England. Robert had now attained the summit of his wishes: He had emancipated his country, and secured its independence; his government had been beneficial, his title was undisputed, and the right of succession confirmed in his family.

A.D. 1329. He died of a chronic disorder, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and was buried at Dunfermline. He left one son, David the Second, and two daughters, by Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Ulster.

The following statement evinces the great value of money at this period. A cow was valued at *five shillings*, and an ox at *six shillings and eightpence*; the iron-work of a plough cost *two shillings*; the daily pay of a crossbowman was *threepence*; that of an archer *twopence*; of a man-at-arms, including the expense of his horse and attendants, *tenpence*; a Scottish knight prisoner in England was allowed *fourpence* daily, and *one pound* yearly for wearing-apparel. The value of money at that period was to that of the present time as *fifteen to one*.

A. D. 1327. Fire-arms, then called "crakys of war," were first used by the English in their wars with Scotland.

CHAPTER V.

David the Second. Randolph Regent. Edward Baliol lands in Fife. Mary Regent—is defeated. Baliol crowned—but is surprised and expelled the kingdom. Regency of Moray. Of Douglas. The Scots defeated at Berwick—which is surrendered to the English. Baliol surrenders the kingdom to Edward—who advances to Inverness. Efforts of David's adherents—they recover the national fortresses.

A. D. 1329. DAVID the SECOND.—David was five years old when he succeeded to the throne. It was the misfortune of Scotland, during this Prince's reign, that he was a minor or a fugitive, a captive or a tributary king. Agreeably to the act of settlement, Randolph assumed the authority of Regent; but he lived only three years after his assumption of the government. Integrity, prudence, and valour, were the prominent features of his character. Indefatigable in discharging the duties of his station, he secured the public tranquillity by wise ordinances, and distributed justice with impartiality. The following is a remarkable example. A layman, having slain a priest, fled to the Papal court, obtained absolution, and boldly returned to Scotland. Randolph ordered him to be tried, and, on conviction, to be executed; "because," said he, "although the Pope may grant absolution from the spiritual consequences of sin, he cannot screen offenders from civil punishment."

A.D. 1331. David and his consort were anointed and crowned at Scone.

By the treaty of Northampton, it was provided that Lord Wake, Beaumont Earl of Buchan, and Henry de Percy, should be restored to their lordships, lands, and estates, whereof the King of Scots, by reason of the wars between the two nations, had taken possession. Of these barons, Percy only obtained restitution. Randolph had reason to suspect that the others were enemies of his country; and that the restitution of their property and rights would enable them to form combinations subversive of the independence of the kingdom. Edward of England had, moreover, taken Edward Baliol, the son of the exiled king, under his protection, which had no friendly or pacific aspect. The event justified the prudence of Randolph. Edward Baliol, supported by the Lords Wake and Beaumont, with others who had been disinherited by Robert Bruce, resolved to invade Scotland, vindicate their rights and possessions, and subvert that government which had been established by the valour and policy

A. D. 1332. of Robert Bruce. They mustered an army of three thousand four hundred men.

In consequence of these preparations, Randolph assembled an army, and advanced to the frontiers of East Lothian: but, learning that the enemy had prepared to invade Scotland by sea, he returned northwards to provide for the defence of the interior parts of the kingdom. At this crisis, Randolph died. Donald, Earl of Marr, nephew of the late King, was elected his successor, by a Parliament held at Perth. This choice was unhappy: Marr had little knowledge of his native country; he was destitute of political abilities, and inexperienced in war.

A naval armament under Baliol, appeared in the Frith of Forth, and disembarked the hostile troops in the neighbourhood of Kinghorn. They routed the Earl of Fife, who opposed their landing, and advanced to Dunfermline; whence they proceeded to Forteviot, on the south bank of the Erne.

The Regent Marr, who had assembled a more numerous army, encamped on the opposite bank; another army, nearly as numerous, commanded by the Earl of March, had advanced through the districts of Lothian and Stirling to Auchterarder, eight miles west of Forteviot. Baliol's situation was become extremely perilous: To fight or retreat seemed hopeless and ruinous. The misconduct of his enemy insured his safety.

The Scots kept no watch in their camp, but abandoned themselves to intemperance and riotous mirth. Baliol took the desperate resolution of crossing the river in the night, and attacking them by surprise. He succeeded. The unwary Scots were routed and slaughtered. Never did the Scottish nation receive so disgraceful an overthrow: Twelve thousand were left dead upon the field; among whom were the Regent and the flower of the nobility. The loss of the English was very inconsiderable. Next day, Perth was delivered up to Baliol. The Earl of March received the first intelligence of the discomfiture of his countrymen from a wounded fugitive. Eager for revenge, the Earl hurried to Perth. It was at first proposed to carry the town by assault; but that resolution was as hastily abandoned, and the slow operations of a blockade were preferred.

The Scottish fleet, commanded by John Crabbe, a Flemish mariner, blockaded the river Tay. He attacked the fleet of Baliol; but was defeated, and his whole fleet burned. Being now masters of the sea, the English received abundant supplies; while the Scots, discouraged by their reverses, relin-

quished the blockade, and dispersed themselves. Thus, within the space of three weeks from his landing, Baliol saw himself in quiet possession of Scotland.

He was crowned at Scone. Immediately after his coronation, he appointed the Earl of Fife to the command of Perth, and repaired to the Southern counties of Scotland. He had no sooner retired, than Simon and James Fraser, with Robert Keith, surprised Perth, and razed its fortifications.

Baliol met Edward at Roxburgh, and acknowledged himself his liegeman, as his father had done. Edward, in return, engaged to support the rights and titles of Baliol to the Scottish crown. Many of the nobles, either through despair or from ancient attachment to Baliol's father, submitted to the conqueror.

The Earl of March and Archibald Douglas, with Simon Fraser, assembled a body of horse, and surprised Baliol at Annan. His followers were overpowered. With scarcely a single attendant, he himself escaped and took refuge in England. Archibald Douglas, with three thousand men, invaded England by the Western Marches, wasted the country, and carried off much booty. In revenge, the English made an inroad into Scotland; when Sir William Douglas, the famous *Knight of Liddesdale*, was defeated, and made prisoner. Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, King David's maternal uncle, who had been appointed Regent, attacked Baliol, who had returned to the neighbourhood of Roxburgh; but he was defeated, and carried prisoner to England.

A.D. 1333. Archibald Douglas succeeded him in the regency. Baliol having ceded Berwick to the English, Edward resolved to besiege it without delay. He was assisted by Baliol; who vigorously prosecuted the siege. The Scots made an obstinate defence, and burned a great part of the English fleet. Being reduced to great extremity, and dreading the horrors of a storm, they agreed to capitulate, unless their countrymen should relieve them by a specified time.

The Regent, who had led an army into England with the view of raising the siege, immediately proposed to give battle to the enemy. His army amounted to fifteen thousand; an equal number of servants and attendants followed the army. The English were advantageously posted at Halidon, with a marshy hollow in front. A body of two hundred men at arms attempted to force a passage into the town; which, had they succeeded, would have been considered as relieved, agreeably to the capitulation. Edward opposed them in person, and repulsed them with great slaughter. A general attack was then

made by the Scots: While they struggled with the difficulties of the ground in approaching the enemy, they were incessantly galled by the English archers. Although fatigued and disordered by their impetuosity, and the local difficulties, they fought with desperate courage. The English emulated their valour: They were better disciplined, and had the advantages of the ground. Douglas being mortally wounded, his countrymen began to give way. A dreadful carnage ensued; and so complete was the discomfiture, that few of the Scots escaped. On the side of the English, scarcely twenty were killed; nor will this appear incredible, when we reflect that their ranks remained unbroken, and that their archers at a secure distance committed dreadful havock among the enemy. The town and castle of Berwick immediately surrendered.

It was now believed that the Scottish war was ended, and that none would have either courage or influence to assemble or lead another army. The castles of Dunbarton, Lochleven, Urquhart, and Kildrummy, were commanded by the faithful friends of David. That prince and his consort were conveyed to France, until a more favourable season should arrive to assert his claims. Baliol, with the concurrence of A. D. 1334. the Scottish Parliament, surrendered, by a solemn instrument, a great part of the Scottish dominions, to be annexed for ever to the crown of England. The forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Ettrick, the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, and Dumfries, together with the county of Edinburgh and the constabularies of Linlithgow and Haddington, with their towns and castles, were thus surrendered; and, to complete the national degradation, the puny Baliol presented himself before his liege lord at Newcastle, did homage, and swore fealty for the kingdom of Scotland and the isles adjacent.

Lochleven castle, built on a small island and of difficult access, was blockaded by John de Strivelin, who proposed to inundate the island, by raising a strong and lofty wall to shut up the outlet of the lake. A few of the garrison silently pierced the bulwark. The sudden inundation swept away that part of the English camp which was within its reach; the remainder retired soon after.

Many of the nobles, disappointed and disgusted by Baliol's mean submissions, retired to their castles or abjured their allegiance. Baliol concluded a treaty with the Lord of the Isles; who consented to be his liegeman, to aid him at all times and to the utmost against all their enemies, and to swear to the performance of the treaty on the Eucharist, on

the cup of the altar, and on the Missal, and to give hostages, if required, for *farther security*. The wily islander received in return the islands of Mull, Skye, and Isla, with the lands of Cantire and Knapdale; and also the wardship of the heir of the Earl of Atholl, at that time a child of three years old.

Sir Andrew Moray, having been liberated from England, was acknowledged as regent by a Parliament composed of David's adherents, at Dunfermline. That gallant soldier was indefatigable in harassing the partisans of Baliol. He took their castles and greatly annoyed them by a desultory war.

A. D. 1336. Edward of England resolved to overrun the country, and thus at once to crush the insubordinate spirit of the Scots. He led an army into the North, wasted Moray, and penetrated to Inverness: But he had scarcely departed, when the Regent emerged from his fastnesses and traversed the kingdom, surprising and discomfiting his enemies. The courts of France and Rome secretly favoured and encouraged the partisans of David.

Edward, busied in preparing for war with France, relaxed his military operations against the Scots. But calamities pursued that nation: It was visited by a grievous famine, the consequences of the desolations of war.

The Countess of March exhibited at this time a remarkable instance of female courage, worthy of the daughter of Randolph. The Earl of Salisbury laid siege to her castle of Dunbar, during the absence of her husband the Earl of March. She performed all the duties of a vigilant commander,—animated the garrison, and braved every danger. When the enormous assailing engine called a *sow* was advanced to the walls, she scoffingly cried out to the English general, "Beware, Montague, the sow is about to farrow!" and then ordered a huge rock to be let fall upon it, which crushed it to pieces. Such circumstances are characteristical of those times, exhibiting a picture of bold unpolished manners and heroic spirit.

The heroine and her brave companions were relieved by Alexander Ramsay; who, with forty resolute men, embarked amidst the silence of a dark night, eluded the vigilance of the English, and entered the castle by a postern next the sea. He sallied out, attacked and dispersed the advanced guards. The besiegers consented to a cessation of arms, and retired into England. Though no regular army of Scots kept the field at this time, Ramsay and the Knight of Liddesdale, with detached parties, incessantly harassed the enemy; The former had that emerity to make an incursion into

England and carry off much booty; the latter expelled the English from Teviotdale.

A. D. 1338. Sir Andrew Moray, the Regent of Scotland, having died, he was succeeded in that office by Robert the Steward of Scotland. The new Regent despatched the Knight of Liddesdale into France to implore the aid of the French King, and to acquaint King David with the state of affairs. Meantime, the Regent prepared to besiege Perth, which had been the head-quarters of the English for many years, and reckoned a port of great importance.

He had the address to gain over to his interest Bullock, who held the castle of Cupar for Baliol. Assisted by the counsels of this man, the Regent vigorously prosecuted the siege of Perth. The Knight of Liddesdale, who had returned from France with some ships, and many knights and soldiers completely armed, contributed to the reduction of the town, which was surrendered by capitulation. Stirling castle, after a feeble resistance, was likewise surrendered to the Regent. At this siege the Scots first employed cannon. Having thus expelled the enemy from every post to the north of the Frith of Forth, he made a progress through Scotland, to administer justice, redress grievances, and establish good order.

Edinburgh castle was taken by surprise. The garrison incautiously admitted the Knight of Liddesdale with a few companions, who were disguised as English seamen, and had agreed to furnish wine and provisions for the governor. They overpowered and expelled the garrison. Roxburgh castle was taken by escalade. King David, who had returned to Scotland, conferred the command of the castle and the office of Sheriff of Teviotdale on the gallant captor, Alexander Ramsay; but from that moment the Knight of Liddesdale became his mortal enemy, and sought his destruction. The noble-minded and unfortunate Ramsay, while holding a court, according to the duties of his office, at Hawick, was assailed, fettered, and imprisoned by the Knight, and afterwards starved in prison. Perhaps no circumstance displays in a stronger light the fierce and insubordinate spirit of the Scottish aristocracy, than the murder of Ramsay; and so feeble was the government of David, that he durst not revenge it.

By the intercession of the Steward, the assassin was received into favour, appointed to be governor of Roxburgh castle, and restored to the office of Sheriff of Teviotdale. During these transactions, the English monarch was prosecuting an unsuccessful war in France. A treaty of peace

A. D. 1343. } was concluded between England and France, in which the Scots were included, by the magnanimity of their French ally.

Before the expiry of the truce, the Scots, weary of peace, renewed their incursions into England. Edward complained that the French Monarch had secretly encouraged the faithless Scots, and ordered hostilities to be recommenced.

CHAPTER VI.

The Scots invade England. Battle of Durham. David taken prisoner. A truce. Pestilence. Negotiations for David's release—interrupted by hostilities. The English invade Scotland. David released. Plague. Domestic occurrences. Death and character of David.

To embarrass the operations of Edward on the Continent, David, at the solicitation of the French Monarch, resolved to invade England. The opportunity was deemed peculiarly favourable for taking vengeance on a powerful and implacable enemy; as Edward and his chief commanders were absent, and, except ecclesiastics and artisans, none were expected to make any opposition. The Knight of Liddesdale counselled the King to abandon the projected enterprise; but his counsel was disregarded; David entered England with a body of two thousand men at arms, completely accoutred, and a very great multitude of light-armed infantry. He penetrated into the bishopric of Durham, wasting the country and plundering the ecclesiastics.

The English issued a proclamation of array to the Northern parts of England. Of the forces thus assembled, the Archbishop of York, Henry de Percy, and Ralph de Nevil, were intrusted with the command. A detachment of the Scots, under the Knight of Liddesdale, in quest of forage, unexpectedly encountered the whole English army, near Sunderland. The Scots retired; but were attacked and defeated. The fugitives who escaped speedily carried an alarm and panic into the camp of their countrymen, who hastily prepared for battle.

Nevil's Cross, near Durham, was the scene of conflict. Amidst the banners of the English nobility, a large crucifix was displayed. Elated with their success, the English advanced and attacked the concentrated forces of the Scots. The latter, entangled among ditches and enclosures, were embarrassed in their evolutions. The Earl of Moray, who commanded the right wing, was slain, and the Knight of Lid-

desdale was made prisoner. Having routed the right wing of the Scots, the English next attacked the centre, commanded by the King in person. Unequal as the combat was, and notwithstanding the chief officers of the crown and many of the nobility fell by the side of their Sovereign, who was himself wounded, the valorous Scots maintained their ground for several hours. At length the King was made prisoner, with upwards of fifty barons. Among the slain were many eminent noblemen. The left wing commanded
A. D. 1346. by the Steward and the Earl of March, retired, though not without loss.

The captive Monarch was conducted to London, and immured in the Tower. Studious to improve their success at Durham, the English entered Scotland, took Roxburgh castle, and, being joined by Baliol with a body of Galloway-men, they wasted the Southern counties. In this extremity, the Steward was elected regent; who supported the cause of his absent sovereign as well as the calamitous times would permit.

A. D. 1347. A truce was concluded between England and France, in which the Scots were included; and, the ensuing year, negotiations were opened for the release of the captive monarch.

A. D. 1348. The great pestilence that had long desolated the Continent, reached Scotland. This pestilence took a wider range, and proved more destructive, than any calamity of that nature known in the annals of the human race.

A. D. 1354. A treaty for the release of David was at last concluded at Newcastle. His ransom was fixed at ninety thousand merks Sterling, to be paid at the rate of ten thousand merks annually. The King, the clergy, the nobles, the merchants and burgesses of Aberdeen, Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh, for themselves, and for all the other merchants in Scotland, became bound for payment of the ransom and observance of the truce. Twenty young men of quality were to be given as hostages: But, before the release of David, some mysterious negotiations were entered into between him and the English government, for the purpose, as is supposed, of establishing the long-contested claim of feudal superiority over the Scots.

The renowned Knight of Liddesdale obtained his liberty, after making the most dishonourable concessions to Edward; but he was slain soon after, while hunting in Ettrick forest. Various causes concurred to frustrate the execution of the treaty for David's release. The Scots had debased their coin,

for what purpose, has not been satisfactorily ascertained; but Edward prohibited its currency in England, by proclamation. The French Monarch, dreading a new invasion by the English, despatched an emissary to Scotland with a chosen body of troops, and a considerable sum of money, to be distributed among the Scottish nobility, on condition of their renewing the war. The nobles, prompted by avarice, indifferent to integrity and honour, and overlooking all future inconveniencies for the sake of present gain, accepted the French offers, and resolved to invade England.

A. D. 1355. The Scottish Borderers took the field, entered England, and pillaged Norham. Being pursued by the enemy, they feigned to flee, and led the unwary English into an ambush, from which few escaped. An enterprise of greater importance was attempted by Stewart Earl of Angus. Having collected a small fleet, he approached Berwick in the night, silently landed his forces, and scaled the walls on the side next the sea; while on the land side, the Earl of March with the French troops seconded the attack.

The town surrendered; and was abandoned to pillage, the inhabitants retiring to the castle, which the Scots were unable to reduce. Before they had leisure to repair the fortifications, the town was invested by an army under Edward. The Scots capitulated and retired.

Despairing of regaining his authority in Scotland, Baliol made an absolute surrender of his kingdom and crown to Edward of England. He spent the remainder of his days in obscurity, and died childless.

The nominal acquisition of Baliol's rights increased not the authority of Edward in Scotland. Resolving, therefore, to extort the reluctant obedience of the barons, he led his numerous forces into Lothian. A fleet of victuallers was ordered to sail to the Frith of Forth, as the Scots had driven off every sort of provisions beyond his reach. The English were involved in difficulties: Their fleet was wrecked; they were infested on all sides by flying parties of the vigilant Scots, who embarrassed their march. They had no alternative but to retreat, or to be wasted by famine and the sword. Inflamed with rage, Edward desolated the country, and laid in ashes every town, village, and hamlet, that he passed in his retreat. Lord Douglas attacked a detachment of his army, as it passed by Ettrick forest, and slew great numbers. This inroad was long remembered among the vulgar in Scotland, under the name of *the Burnt Candlemas*.

After Edward's retreat, the Scots expelled his partisans

from the West Marches. Nithsdale, Annandale, and Galloway, successively surrendered their fortresses, and yielded obedience to the Regent; while the English, intent upon the subjugation of France, reopened a negotiation for the release of the King of Scots. A treaty was concluded at Berwick, in consequence of which David was released, after a captivity of eleven years. The ransom agreed upon was one hundred thousand merks Sterling,—to be paid by yearly instalments of ten thousand. The same security that had been previously specified was demanded and granted. After the ratification of the treaty by the King, the nobility, the bishops, and the boroughs, David returned home. He seems to have imbibed a great partiality for the country in which he had been a captive. He visited England a few months after his release; and, during the remainder of his reign, he made many impolitic visits to London.

Although the ecclesiastical estate became bound for the King's ransom, they felt reluctant to pay any part of it; and they excused themselves by an appeal to the Pontiff, who granted the tenth of the church revenues for three years, under condition that nothing more on account of the ransom should be exacted from the clergy.

The Scots, turbulent and avaricious, negotiated alternately with the French and English,—with the former, to obtain a subsidy to enable them the more easily to discharge the King's ransom, though at the expense of a war with England; with the latter, to procure, if possible, an abatement of the heavy ransom, or to procrastinate the term of payment.

A. D. 1861. The plague broke out again in Scotland, and continued its frightful ravages through the year. It is supposed that one third of the inhabitants, including many persons of distinction, perished in this general calamity. To avoid the infection, the King, with his court, retired into the Northern parts of the kingdom. In the succeeding year, the Queen of Scots died childless.

A. D. 1868. The King, in a Parliament held at Scone, proposed, that in the event of his dying without issue, one of the sons of the King of England should be chosen to succeed him. This strange proposition may be very naturally connected with the mysterious negotiation between the English and Scottish Kings, while the latter was a prisoner. The Scottish Parliament unanimously and peremptorily rejected the proposal. They said "they would never permit an Englishman to reign over them; that they would maintain the act of settlement solemnly ratified by the Legislature in the

days of Robert Bruce, in favour of the Steward and his sons, who were brave men, and fit to reign."

Jealousy and distrust were the unhappy effects of the King's inconsiderate conduct. The nobles entered into associations for maintaining the legal succession; and they even took up arms against the persons suspected of favouring the King's political views. David had recourse to arms. The insurgents sued for peace; and a general amnesty was granted to such as should renounce all private confederacies.

A. D. 1370. David the Second died in the castle of Edinburgh, in the forty-second year of his reign, and the forty-seventh of his age. He was buried in the church of the abbey of Holyrood, before the great altar. In his demeanour he was courteous and affable, and possessed of personal intrepidity. The defects of his character were numerous, and strongly marked: He was weak and capricious, violent in his resentments, and habitually under the dominion of women.

It was in this reign that the practice of *manrent* began, which procured followers for the powerful and protection for the weak. This practice evinces the weakness of the royal authority and the confusion of the times. During the minority and captivity of David, the Scottish government was purely aristocratical. After his release, the aristocratical spirit was sufficiently apparent.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART, 1370.

CHAPTER I.

Robert the Second. A Parliament—reforms the police of the nation. Miscellaneous transactions with England. A succession of measures—alternately pacific and hostile. Conflict at Otterburn. Death of Robert.

Upon the demise of David, the crown passed to his nephew, Robert, the High Steward of Scotland, conformably to the Parliamentary destination in the reign of Robert Bruce. The Steward mounted the throne after he had begun to descend the vale of years. He had distinguished himself in early

youth by his courage at the battle of Halidon, and by his vigorous exertions in opposing Baliol. He was experienced in the art of government, as well as in the duties of a subject. At an early age, he had been appointed governor of the kingdom, in conjunction with Sir Andrew Moray. At a subsequent period, he was twice elected sole governor; and, by the prudent and vigorous discharge of the duties of his office, he acquired reputation and the confidence of the nation. The Steward had numerous and extensive possessions in the West and the East of Scotland.

William Earl of Douglas at first opposed the accession of the Steward, and claimed the crown for himself,—as uniting in his own person the pretensions of Comyn and the title of Baliol: But this claim he was compelled to withdraw, by the unanimous opposition of the barons.

A. D. 1371. Robert the Second was crowned at Scone. In order to avoid the miseries of a disputed succession, an act was passed by the King and the Estates, declaring John Earl of Carrick, the King's eldest son, the heir-apparent to the throne. The situation of the kingdom rendered a strict observance of the truce with England prudent and necessary; while, in order to secure the friendship and aid of France, the treaty with that country was renewed,—the French monarch engaging to support the Scots against the influence and arms of England.

A. D. 1372. A Parliament was held at Scone, memorable for its juridical statutes. A long and severe ordinance was enacted against murderers and their abettors,—an indication of the prevalence of violence, and the contempt or inefficacy of the existing laws. And, to maintain purity in the administration of the laws, and respect for their authority, venality was strictly prohibited. No mandate, under whatever seal it might be issued, if contrary to the common course of law, was to be obeyed; and law-officers were strictly prohibited from requiring or accepting presents or remission of debt.

To prevent, if possible, the misfortunes of a disputed succession, it was enacted, in addition to the legislative provision already made, that, failing the heir-apparent and his issue, the following noblemen and their heirs should succeed to the throne: First, the Earl of Fife and Monteith; second, Alexander Lord of Badenoch; third, the Earl of Stratherne; and, fourth, Walter, Earl of Atholl.

The imbecility of the government of Edward the Third allowed the Scots some years respite from hostile operations: But the national tranquillity was interrupted by the acces-

sion of Richard the Second to the English throne. An affray at Roxburgh, in which a Scottish officer was murdered, was the ostensible cause for commencing hostilities. The Borderers immediately began their incursions, with alternate success and defeat. While commissioners were employed in compromising these differences, their pacific exertions were interrupted by a naval engagement between a small fleet of Scottish, French, and Spanish vessels, and some English merchantmen, which were captured off Scarborough.

It does not appear that there existed then in England a Board for superintending naval operations. The charge of fitting out a squadron to vindicate the honour of the nation, and punish the aggressors, devolved on John Philpot, a merchant of London. The Scots and their allies were defeated and captured; but it is uncertain whether Philpot's successful enterprise obtained the approbation of his Government.

A.D. 1378. While the English and Scottish Governments were prosecuting measures for a pacification, Alexander Ramsay, a Scotsman, with forty companions, assaulted and took the castle of Berwick by surprise. He had cause soon to repent of his temerity. The Governor of the town and his people perceiving the smallness of their number, blockaded the castle. "Are you there?" cried they; "You shall not escape without our permission." The Earl of Northumberland soon invested the town, with an army of ten thousand men,—a force which the Scots deemed prudent to respect; and except Ramsay, who was saved by Lord Percy, none of the garrison escaped from slaughter.

The English army, with augmented numbers, marched into the South of Scotland, and ravaged the country. A detachment of six hundred lancemen and archers, under Muskgrave, fell into an ambuscade of the Scots, commanded by Archibald Douglas; who, wielding a ponderous sword of enormous length, terrified and routed the enemy.

A.D. 1380. In two years after, another inroad into England was made by the Scots under Douglas; who, with twenty thousand men, surrounded the town of Penrith by night, pillaged and burned it: But, with their booty, they carried home with them the plague, which then desolated England; and they expiated under that terrible scourge the miseries they had inflicted by the sword.

The Duke of Lancaster advanced to the frontiers of Scotland with a numerous army, with secret instructions to conclude a peace on the best terms he could obtain. A truce was concluded for two years. Lancaster's return home being

prevented by an insurrection, headed by the well-known Wat Tyler, he received an invitation from the Scots to reside with his attendants in the castle of Edinburgh; which, as a mark of honour, was conceded, during his stay, for their accommodation.

Notwithstanding that tranquillity was thus apparently established, the Scots, in order to provide for the event of a rupture with England, sent an embassy to the court of France. They obtained the promise of one thousand men at arms, a thousand suits of armour, and a sum of money, as a compensation for being ready to make war upon England when the affairs of their French allies rendered it necessary.

From accident or design, the truce with England was permitted to expire. A short truce was entered into between the English and the French, in which the Scots were not included. The Duke of Lancaster, conceiving the omission a sufficient reason for commencing hostilities, entered Scotland and advanced to Edinburgh; which he spared, in gratitude for the hospitality he had there recently experienced.

A.D. 1384. The Scottish nobles, in opposition to the will of their Sovereign, took up arms, and, with fifteen thousand cavalry, plundered the Northern counties of England with impunity, and returned home with much booty.

Conformably to the late treaty, the French Monarch despatched de Vienne, Admiral of France, a leader of distinguished military talents, with the stipulated supply of men, money, and arms, into Scotland, with the view of carrying the war into England, and delivering France from the scourge of invasion. Vienne with his battalion, the flower of chivalry, arrived at Leith; but he was greatly shocked with the poverty of the Scots, which everywhere presented itself. The equipments for war being procured from Flanders, were scantily supplied,—even the necessaries of life could hardly be pro-

A. D. 1385. cured. The French smiled, and wished to return home. In order to afford them employment, a numerous force was prepared to invade England. Thirty thousand men, mounted on small horses, took the field under the command of the Earls of Fife and Douglas; and with their French allies, entered the English territories, captured the castle of Werk, and ravaged the country as far as Newcastle: But, learning that Lancaster was approaching with a great army, they retired with their prey into Scotland.

Richard the Second advanced with a mighty army against the Scots. The number of horses employed in this expedition is said to have amounted to three hundred thousand.—

which seems greatly exaggerated. The abbey of Melrose, the monasteries of Dryburgh and Newbottle, the city of Edinburgh, with its religious edifices, were successively given to the flames. Unable to meet the enemy in the field, the Scots withdrew to the mountains. Stirling was reduced to ashes; Perth and Dundee were destroyed; and, as some affirm, the English vanguard advanced to Aberdeen.

Exasperated by the insulting triumph of the enemy, the Scots entered England by the Western Marches, ravaged Cumberland, and besieged Carlisle. Although the English had provided one hundred and twenty vessels to supply their army with necessaries during their march, they began to feel the pressure of scarcity, and were induced to retrace their steps to defend their country. The Scots, having no inclination to obstruct their retreat or meet them in battle, allowed them to retire unmolested.

A.D. 1388. An assembly of the Scottish nobles met at Aberdeen, and agreed to meet with their vassals at Jedburgh, for an expedition into England, in revenge for the late hostile visit of Richard. His weak and impolitic administration incurred the contempt of his subjects. His counsels were distracted; and the Scots, availing themselves of these opportune circumstances, assembled to the number of fifty thousand, under the command of the King's second son, Robert Earl of Fife, and the renowned Earl of Douglas. Of this army, twelve hundred were armed with lances. The rest were ill accoutred and rudely disciplined.

Being informed that the Scots were arraying for a meditated attack on the Northern counties, the Northumbrian chiefs prepared to make reprisals. An English squire was sent in disguise to ascertain what plan of operations the Scots had determined upon. He succeeded in gaining admission into the chapel where the Scottish nobles were publicly deliberating upon their intended operations; but, in retiring, he was suspected and apprehended, and confessed that his countrymen had determined, if the Scots should enter England by the Eastern Marches, to make an inroad into Scotland by the Western.

It was immediately resolved, that Douglas, with three hundred men at arms and two thousand chosen infantry, should make a descent upon Northumberland and Durham, while the remainder of the Scottish army should guard against the meditated attack of the enemy.

With the suddenness of a tempest, Douglas penetrated into Durham, and announced his arrival by the flames and

smoke of burning villages. His party pillaged the country to the gates of York. The Earl of Northumberland despatched his two sons, Henry, surnamed Hotspur, and Ralph, in quest of the Scots, while he himself should collect a force to intercept their retreat. In one of the many skirmishes that ensued, Douglas won the pennon of Henry Percy; and vauntingly exclaimed, "This I shall carry as a sign of my prowess into Scotland, and place it on the pinnacle of my castle, to be known by all!" Percy, incensed, retorted with an oath, "Thou shalt never bear it out of Northumberland!"

The Scots had retreated northward as far as Otterburn, when they were overtaken by Percy, attended by six hundred lances, and eight thousand infantry armed with long-bows. They approached the Scots in the twilight, and instantly raised the shout of "Percy, Percy!" Meantime, the Scottish chiefs armed in haste; and, perceiving by moonlight the position and numbers of their foes, they silently turned around an eminence, and raising the shout of "Douglas, Douglas!" assailed the English in the rear. A well-disputed contest ensued. The Scots were ready to give way; when Douglas, brandishing a two-handed battle-axe, opened an avenue through the thick files of the enemy, trusting to the temper of his armour, and despising the numerous blows he received. He had advanced too far from his battalions to receive their support, and fell under three mortal wounds. His followers, ignorant of his fate, and animated by his valour, made an irresistible onset; when the obstinate courage of the English began to abate. At that moment, the younger Percy was wounded and made prisoner. Some Scottish knights penetrated to the spot where lay their gallant chief, defended by his chaplain, and his banner prostrated on the ground. "Raise again my banner!" said the dying hero: "Shout, Douglas! Avenge me, for I die." His banner was elevated; the field resounded with his name; and the Scots, forming one phalanx, with levelled spears, routed the enemy. The defeat was complete; the elder Percy was taken prisoner; and the English were almost all slain or taken. Douglas lived but to hear of his countrymen's success. He was interred beneath the high altar in Melrose abbey.

The Convention of Estates appointed the Earl of Fife, the King's second son, to the office of Regent. By consenting to this act, Robert virtually abdicated his throne. A truce for a short period was negotiated between England and France, in which Scotland was included.

A. D. 1390. Robert died at his castle of Dundonald, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign. He appears to have been a prince of a pacific disposition; the chief aim of his government being to maintain peace with England; to secure which, he renewed the old league with France, deeming it necessary policy for the weaker powers to unite against the strong.

CHAPTER II.

Robert the Third. Domestic policy. Chivalry. Tournaments. Pretensions of the English. They invade Scotland. Factions—civil policy of the Regent Albany. Battle of Homeldon. Prince James captured by the English. Death of Robert.

A. D. 1390. ROBERT the THIRD.—John, the eldest son of the late Monarch, assumed the government. But his name being deemed inauspicious, it was changed to Robert,—a name associated with many proud recollections by the Scots. When the new Sovereign began his reign, he was turned of fifty, of a gentle disposition, and inoffensive manners, but defective in political energy,—the consequence probably of the recent elevation of his family to the throne. Accustomed to regard the nobles as brothers and equals, he feared or was unable to restrain their untractable spirit, and execute the laws with vigour. Before his coronation, his fourth brother, Alexander, surnamed for his ravages the Wolf of Badenoch, spread devastation through Moray. Having been excommunicated by the Bishop of that diocese, he, in revenge, burned the towns of Forres and Elgin, with the church of St Giles and the cathedral, esteemed one of the chief ornaments in the country. It would seem that this outrage passed unnoticed by the Government. The marauder made his peace with the church, and even procured a niche for his recumbent statue in the cathedral church of Dunkeld, where it still remains.

After his coronation at Scone, he intrusted the government to his brother the Earl of Fife; who, for the first eight years of his reign, succeeded in maintaining peace with England and France. But to maintain domestic tranquillity was a more arduous task, from the inveterate feuds that prevailed in the kingdom, especially in the Highland districts.

A. D. 1392. Duncan Stewart, the King's nephew, with a band of three hundred retainers, made a descent upon Strathmore, and plundered the country as far as the Stormont. There they were attacked by the Sheriff of Angus, assisted

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by Sir David Lindsay; who were defeated with the loss of sixty men.

These disgraceful insults to the laws were not visited with merited punishment; and when the Government seriously resolved to interfere, a mode of chastisement was adopted dictated by a rude policy and irreconcileable to justice. The rival clans of Kay and Quhele were the most refractory of the Northern septs. It was proposed and agreed to, that thirty should be selected from each of the hostile parties, and finally decide their disputes before the King and the court in the vicinity of Perth. A fierce conflict with bows, battle-axes, swords, and daggers, ensued. Of the Kays, only one, a mercenary, who had entered the combat for a bribe, escaped, by swimming across the river Tay; while A. D. 1396. eleven of the opposing clan kept the field. In this inhuman combat, the most turbulent leaders of both parties were slain.

At this period, the spirit of chivalry predominated in Scotland, as well as in England. Lindsay Earl of Crawford had made a prominent figure in the splendid tournaments of Richard the Second; and now Morley, an English gentleman, came to Scotland to challenge combats. Prince David, A. D. 1398. by the Queen's command, appeared as the leader of a tournament at Edinburgh. About the same period, and conformably to the prevailing spirit, the title of Duke was first introduced into Scotland: The heir apparent was dubbed Duke of Rothsay, then a miserable hamlet in the isle of Bute. The Earl of Fife assumed the title of Duke of Albany.

Richard of England was dethroned by the Earl of Lancaster, who successfully usurped the English throne. The Scottish Borderers availed themselves of the opportunity offered by these domestic troubles to make an inroad into England; fired the castle of Werk, and wasted the adjacent country. A repetition of similar insults compelled the Eng- A. D. 1400. lish Monarch to deliberate on the most eligible means of retaliation. The Lord of the Isles was induced to make an alliance with England, which he visited, with a hundred horse: The Scots were obliged to endure an insult which they could not revenge.

Henry the Fourth resolved to send an army into Scotland; being the last invasion conducted by an English monarch in person. The Earl of March, enraged by an insult received from the Scottish Government, swore fealty to Henry; who granted a pension to his lady and his heirs. Upon his ar-

riving at the Borders, Henry despatched an order to the Scottish King, the prelates, and the nobles, to meet him at Edinburgh, and pay him homage as Lord Paramount. In answer to this mandate, the Scots composed a pitiful ballad, in which the arrogant claim of the English Monarch was ridiculed in the most ludicrous terms. The invaders advanced to Edinburgh, and repeatedly assailed the castle without success. Albany collected a numerous force, with which he boasted he should drive the invader from the kingdom; but this bravado was followed by no active operations.

The moderation and clemency of Henry during this invasion merit the highest eulogium: The towns that submitted on his approach he saved from being plundered; and no instance of wanton cruelty is recorded to have been committed. A threatened insurrection in England induced the invaders to retire.

An unhappy difference existed, and gradually increased, between the Dukes of Albany and Rothsay. The former was ambitious and artful, and conceived the most criminal projects: The latter was of an amorous disposition, and fond of riotous pastime; but was possessed of a comely person, an affable disposition, and a vigorous mind. Albany, by his intrigues and malicious insinuations, had alienated the affections of the King from his son; the Queen, however, had the prudence to interpose; and, to overthrow the criminal ambition of Albany, she proposed that the Prince should marry.

Alarmed at a measure he durst not openly oppose, the Regent involved the King and the Prince in a quarrel with the Earl of March. To gratify his avarice, he invited the Scottish nobles to purchase an alliance with the Royal Family: The Earl of March, being the highest bidder, was preferred; his daughter was affianced to Rothsay, and the purchase-money was paid. A new alliance was proposed by the potent Earl of Douglas, who offered a higher price; which was unjustly accepted. So flagrant a dishonour and breach of promise could not be compromised, and March rebelled against his Sovereign. His castle at Dunbar was reduced by Douglas. Being joined by Percy, he made an irruption into Scotland, but was chased by Douglas into England.

In a Parliament held at Scone, many excellent statutes were enacted, which evince the wisdom and humanity of Robert, while they depict the licentiousness of the times.

Albany's ambition and cruelty were fully developed in the murder of the Duke of Rothsay,—an event which dooms the

murderer to infamy, and stains the character of Robert's administration. It was represented to the credulous Monarch, that a temporary confinement was necessary to restrain the amorous Prince from his criminal excesses. An order to that end was signed by the King. Albany availed himself of it; and procured the confinement of his victim in Falkland castle, where he was starved to death. He was privately interred at Lindores. A mock examination in Parliament ensued; the innocence of Albany was apparently established; and an instrument of remission was granted by the unsuspicious Sovereign.

A.D. 1402.

A variety of petty incursions were made into England, with various success. Engaged in crushing a rebellion in Wales, Henry left the protection of the Northern counties to the valour of the Wardens. Of these irruptions, that which led to the battle of Homeldon was the most remarkable. The Earl of Douglas, assisted by Murdac, Albany's son, entered England with an army of ten thousand men, and carried terror and devastation to the walls of Newcastle. This temerity was speedily chastised. The Earl of Northumberland, his son, the renowned Hotspur, and the Earl of March, collected their vassals, and speedily overtook the Scots at Homeldon hill. The position of the Scots was judiciously selected; but the English being indisposed to come to close combat, kept at a distance, as they were inferior to the Scots in the use of the spear. In all ages the English bow had been the instrument of victory; on this occasion it decided the fate of the day. The English archers poured a dreadful shower of arrows, none of which descended without execution, among the Scots; who were drawn up on the face of a hill, and presented a solid mass to the skilful bowmen. Swinton and Gordon, two spirited knights, impatient at the slaughter of their countrymen, rushed down the hill with a hundred followers; and, with desperate courage, fought and perished. Douglas, when too late, led his men to the attack. Their ardour had abated;—another shower of arrows routed and slaughtered the fugitives. Douglas himself was taken prisoner, after being severely wounded. Murdac was made prisoner, and liberated soon afterwards.

The remainder of this reign is marked by few important events. During the rebellion in England, raised by Hotspur, the Regent Albany collected a numerous army, with the intention of making an irruption into Northumberland. Upon the news of Hotspur's defeat and death, he abandoned the design, and dismissed his troops.

It is probable that a disclosure of Albany's dark and cruel conduct induced the sickly and secluded Monarch to provide for the safety of his only son James Earl of Carrick. By the advice of Wardlaw Bishop of St Andrew's, the Prince was put on board a vessel, to be conveyed to France, and intrusted to the protection of that friendly power. He had proceeded on his voyage as far as Flamborough Head, when he was captured by an English ship, and conveyed to London. He was then only eleven years of age. His father, A.D. 1406. overwhelmed with grief, sunk under his misfortunes, in the seventeenth year of his reign.

CHAPTER III.

Regency of Albany. Resby burned. Battle of Harlaw. Papal bull. University of St Andrew's founded. Murdac Regent—state of the country. Negotiations for James's release—his arrival in Scotland. General view of the domestic policy and manners of the Scots.

ROBERT DUKE of ALBANY, REGENT.—After the late King's demise, a Parliament assembled at Perth; the title of the captive Prince to the sovereignty was recognized, and Albany's authority as Regent was confirmed. The first acts of his government were a renewal of the treaty with France, and an insincere negotiation for the release of the Prince; but the release of Douglas was procured for a ransom of one thousand merks. It was likewise deemed consonant to good policy to pardon the Earl of March; who recovered his Scottish domains, except the lordship of Annandale and its castle of Lochmaben.

A.D. 1408. It was about this time that the flames were first kindled in Scotland for burning heretics. James Resby, an English priest of the school of Wickliffe, was condemned for heresy, at Perth, by a clerical council, who delivered him over to the secular power.

A variety of circumstances contributed to prevent any serious difference with England. Edward was more intent upon extending his influence on the Continent, than subjugating the Scots, of a spirit so independent and untameable. Donald Lord of the Isles, the ally of England, received a signal defeat at Harlaw, in Aberdeenshire. That chieftain, conceiving that he had a legal claim to the earldom of Ross, A.D. 1411. took possession of the estate, and advanced with ten thousand men to show his contempt of the Regent, and the value of his alliance to England. He was attacked by the

Earl of Marr, assisted by Ogilvy Sheriff of Angus, and defeated, after an obstinate and sanguinary conflict. The islander was compelled to make submissions, and deliver hostages for his future observance of peace.

A Papal bull, which had been drawn up against England by Urban the Fifth, during the reign of Edward the Third of England and David the Second of Scotland, was now promulgated. It threatened with infamy and spiritual punishment, all persons, of whatever rank, who durst invade Scotland. Although the revival of this mandate was accidental, the English Monarch was indisposed to hazard the security of his throne by a contest with the Pontiff.

A. D. 1412. Scotland owes the institution of its first university, at St Andrew's to the exertions of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of that diocese. He applied to the Pope for a bull of confirmation; which upon its arrival, excited the greatest joy. After a night of festivity and rejoicing, a grand procession was exhibited, in which were four hundred ecclesiastics. The studies of the time were scholastic theology, and the canon law; but they afforded mental exertion, though otherwise of little utility; and paved the way for the higher pursuits of useful knowledge and science.

A series of Border hostilities, while they disturbed not the general tranquillity, marked the weakness of the Government and the turbulent character of the people. The Scots were a nation of soldiers, and, if left unemployed by the Government, readily found employment for themselves.

Negotiations were again opened for the release of Prince James, without effect; Albany's aim being to avail himself of every circumstance favourable for the gratification of his own ambitious views. Having governed the kingdom for thirteen years, or, including his direction in the councils of his father and brother, thirty-four years, he died at A. D. 1419. the advanced age of eighty.

He was succeeded in the regency by his son Murdac, who was in every respect unfit for his high office. Impatient of an inactive life, a detachment of seven thousand Scots, under the Earl of Buchan, sailed for France, to assist the Dauphin against Henry the Fifth. In several actions, the Scots were successful, and their leaders were honourably distinguished and rewarded; but they were ultimately defeated, and nearly annihilated.

During Murdac's government of four years, Scotland was nearly in a state of pure anarchy. His imbecility rendered him unfit for maintaining parental authority, far less for com-

manding respect for the laws. A contagious fever and dysentery prevailed in the kingdom, which proved fatal to multitudes of all ranks, and increased the misery and discontent of the nation.

The death of Henry in France, and the appointment of the Duke of Bedford as Protector of England, presented at length a sure expectation to the Scots that their captive Prince should be speedily set at liberty. With the hearty concurrence of the councils of both kingdoms, a treaty was agreed upon. Forty thousand pounds, in lieu of maintenance and for education, were promised by the Scots, in annual instalments of two thousand. For the due performance of the terms, hostages were demanded and promised; and the English offered to conclude a perpetual peace, or, if rejected, a long truce. The boroughs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, granted severally a security for the payment of the Prince's ransom.

James espoused the Duke of Somerset's daughter, a lady who had been long the object of his affections, and received as her portion a remission of ten thousand pounds of his ransom. After a captivity of nineteen years, James arrived in Scotland, and was received with universal acclamations by his people.

Before the splendid reign of that prince be entered upon, it may be instructive to make a short digression, for the purpose of inspecting more closely the character and manners of the Scots. In detailing the political evolutions and the military operations of a nation, the mass of the people remains in obscurity; only a few actors can be distinctly viewed. Yet, to trace the progress of national habits and sentiments, even in the unregarded mass, is one of the chief uses of history.

The Scottish Parliament, from the time of Malcolm the Second, like that of England from the Norman conquest, appears to have been composed of all the immediate vassals of the Crown; and these were divided into two estates, the one comprehending the ecclesiastical dignitaries, the other the lay barons. There were *thirty-two* ecclesiastical barons, fourteen abbots, five priors, and thirteen bishops; the number of lay barons did not exceed *twenty*; and they derived their titles from the districts into which Scotland was then divided.

After the erection of royal boroughs, the Scottish kings were induced to summon deputies from these corporations for the purpose of making a general bargain, with regard to the

taxes or duties demanded from them; and hence those deputies, whose consent was requisite for procuring a part of the national supplies, were, by degrees, admitted into the national council. The representatives of the boroughs were introduced into Parliament as early as the reign of Robert Bruce, but their number was for a long time inconsiderable; and, from a legislative enactment in the reign of James the First, to *enforce* their attendance in Parliament, it may be inferred that they did not estimate the character of borough representatives as advantageous or honourable. The members of the Scottish Parliament assembled in one chamber; hence the burgesses shrunk in the presence of the powerful aristocracy, who being only skilled in arms, devolved the legislative labour on the clergy.

Notwithstanding their numerical superiority, the ecclesiastical dignitaries, until the times of Forman and the Beatons, conducted themselves as legislators with moderation and general propriety. An *Opposition* was scarcely ever known in the Scottish Parliament. The Lords of the Articles prepared every legislative measure; and, with the Royal approbation, these prepared statutes were presented to the States only for their sanction. Any opposition in Parliament was then viewed as equivalent to treason; and the dissentients expressed their dissatisfaction by their absence.

The revenue of the Crown arose chiefly from its demesnes, feudal casualties, ward, relief, marriage, escheat, forfeiture; from vacant bishoprics, fines, presents for grants; and from customs on merchandise. It did not probably average annually above fifty or sixty thousand pounds of modern currency.

The Royal prerogatives were, to summon Parliament and propose laws, which always passed; the administration of justice; the conferring of honours and dignities; the command of the national array; and nomination to ecclesiastical benefices. The coinage of money belonged to the Crown; but any alteration was regarded as unconstitutional if not sanctioned by Parliament.

Although the administration of justice was ostensibly in the Crown, the military force and the greater part of the civil jurisdiction were in the power of the lay barons, to whom the inferior barons were attached by tenure, clan, interest, and expectation, or by bonds of manrent. A singular feature of the feudal government in Scotland was, freedom from taxes, and that at a period when France was overwhelmed with them. Another peculiarity was, that the royal authority was weak-

ened in war and increased in peace; for in war the soldiers obeyed their chiefs, not their king; but in peace the royal authority was paramount in the execution of the laws.

Prior to the reign of the first James, the Scots had made but slow advances from barbarism to civilization: The feudal law exerted a powerful influence; every man was the soldier or the menial attendant of his chief. War was the sole employment of the great; hunting and noisy revelry were their chief amusements. The connexion between despotism, in its various gradations, and its legitimate issue, servility, indolence, and misery, was then strongly delineated. Though the Scottish peasantry have ever been preëminently distinguished for courage in action and attachment to their country, they were infected by the ferocious spirit which then prevailed among their superiors. Dependants on the bounty of their liege lords, they were strangers to industry; theft, robbery, and murder, were prevalent; even their tumultuary armies indiscriminately plundered their countrymen as their enemies; nor can it be doubted that their manners were debased by the rapacity and haughtiness of their religious instructors.

The ties which united the feudal chiefs to their sovereign were slender: Their subjection was precarious, and their opposition formidable and dangerous. A variety of causes concurred to elevate the aristocracy and depress the sovereign,—disputed successions, minorities, foreign influence, family feuds and compacts, and financial poverty. Subordination to the laws, from which flow security, independence, and personal respect, seems to have had little influence in a country subdivided among a high-spirited and irascible nobility, who held judicial offices by hereditary right. Even in the boroughs, the local authorities were more frequently devoted to some neighbouring chief, on whom they depended, than to the king.

The commonalty were poor and uneducated. The meanest articles of manufacture—horse-shoes, harness, saddles, bridles—were all imported from Flanders. Three days were sufficient to rear a cottage,—which consisted of a few posts to support the roof and walls; the former of boughs, the latter of turfs; a cow's hide supplied the place of a door.

Though in the boroughs a greater degree of civilization must have prevailed, yet their inhabitants were few, and their example had little influence. In the reign of Robert the Second, Edinburgh consisted of four thousand houses, which were chiefly small wooden hovels covered with straw. The

inhabitants, it is supposed, amounted to about sixteen thousand. Flesh and fish were the food of the common people; bread was eaten occasionally as a dainty.

The dress of the females consisted of a hood or a kerchief for the head, a tippet for the neck, a kirtle or close gown, without shoes or stockings. A doublet and cloak, with a kind of short trowsers, was the dress of the men: The legs and feet were bare; the head was covered with a woollen bonnet. Among the great, the use of shirts was almost unknown.

In war, the chief weapon of the Scots was the spear. The buckler consisted of wicker-work covered with leather. Other offensive weapons were the axe, the sword, and the dagger. Knights, squires, and chiefs, wore a kind of armour, suitably to their several ranks. The martial music was the harsh sound of horns. Except chosen servants, none wore livery or uniform. Discipline was hardly known;—every man was supposed to be intent upon revenge and defence. During a march, the infantry rode on small horses that knew neither reins nor currycomb; and every man provided himself with a supply of oatmeal for forty days.

In battle, the army was arranged by clans: They advanced in squares, and sometimes in circles. Only the knights or cavalry fought on horseback. The exact order of battle, if indeed a uniform arrangement was adhered to, is involved in obscurity. There were commonly four grand divisions,—the right and left wings, the centre, and reserve; which were commanded by the most eminent or skilful peers; under whom, the inferior barons and knights, in feudal gradation, and often by hereditary right, conducted their vassals. But their armies were disunited: They were not adapted for the patient fatigues of a campaign; and the want of subordination was severely felt, from the opinionative and violent temper of the petty chiefs.

In agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the Scots had for a long period been almost stationary. The incessant Border wars produced less injurious effects on the English than on the Scots: In England, only the Northern provinces were exposed to the ravages of war; in Scotland, the most cultivated and civilized provinces were the theatre of conflict; hence, agricultural pursuits were followed merely to supply the necessaries of life,—in the Northern and mountainous parts of the country, they were unknown or despised. Oats and barley were raised in scanty crops. Wheat, pease, and beans, were extremely rare. The following stu-

tute of James the First evinces the miserable state of tillage and the spiritless character of the farmer. It was enacted, that every farmer using a plough of eight oxen, should sow every year a firlot of wheat, two pecks of pease, and *forty* beans, under the penalty of ten shillings to the baron.

Scotland had no manufactured export: Hence the productions of Scottish mechanics must have been extremely rude; and it was usual for one person to pursue various trades. The carpenter was also a smith and a mason; the weaver pursued likewise the avocation of the tailor.

The domestic trade of the Scots was carried on at the fairs commonly held weekly, and usually on the day of the saint to whom the parish-church was dedicated. The farmer, the tradesman, and the merchant, there bartered their goods.

The rich were clothed with foreign manufactures imported from Flanders; in return for which, hides, wool, salt fish, and pearls, were exported. About a tenth of the gross value of exports and imports was charged as custom. The balance of trade was so decidedly against Scotland, that no fewer than five statutes of James the First prohibit the exportation of money, under the penalty of forfeiting the sum, and even the life of the offender. The coinage was in consequence debased, during the fourteenth century. In the reign of Robert the Third, Scottish coin was to the English as one to two. With the accession of the house of Stuart commences the gold coinage of Scotland.

It is difficult to ascertain the progress made by the Scots in navigation. Their vessels were short and heavy; they were greatly exposed to the sea, from the bulky cabins on their decks, and the clumsy structure of their rigging. As few foreign vessels visited Scotland, the limited trade of that country was conducted by the natives.

The distracted state of the Highlands occasioned much trouble to the Scottish Government. The untractable mountaineers had so provoked David the Second, that he encouraged their chiefs to kill one another, by bestowing the estate of the slaughtered leader on his assassin. This reign of terror produced tranquillity; but the odious and cruel policy by which it was dictated was abandoned by the house of Stuart. Robert the Second committed the government of the Highlands to a committee of barons; but their administration being destitute of vigour, was ineffective.

CHAPTER IV.

James the First. Peace with England. Fate of Murdac. Beneficial enactments. Institution of the Court of Session. Highlanders intimidated. Innovation in the Parliament. League with France. Rebellion. Instance of desperate animosity. Martyrdom of Paul Crawar. Military array. Conspiracy—James murdered.

A. D. 1424. JAMES the FIRST.—James had attained his thirtieth year when he returned from captivity, to govern his native kingdom. Perhaps none of his predecessors on the throne had enjoyed so favourable an opportunity as he, at the court of England, for acquiring a complete education. He was adorned with every personal virtue. Though in stature he was under the middle size, his frame was firm and vigorous; and he excelled in every manly exercise. His intellectual abilities were of a superior order: He was a great and beneficent sovereign; his vigorous administration promoted civilization, imparted tranquillity and happiness to his subjects.

James and his Queen were crowned at Scone, soon after their arrival in Scotland. In order to reform the police of his kingdom, it was necessary to maintain peace with England. A truce for seven years was concluded, which afforded leisure and opportunity for promoting that grand object. It was not to be expected that the usurpations of Albany and his family should pass with impunity. Murdac and two of his sons were apprehended; and, after two months' imprisonment, they were tried by a jury of their peers, condemned, and executed. James, the Regent's youngest son, escaped to Argyllshire. With the aid of a band of Highland freebooters, he burned the town of Dunbarton, and murdered Sir John Stewart, the King's uncle. He was immediately pronounced an outlaw, and fled to Ireland; whence he never returned.

The frequent assembling of Parliaments during this reign, evinces the King's respect for the constitution, his confidence in his people, and their reverence for his authority. He convened a Parliament immediately after his return. By his recommendation, many salutary laws were enacted; which he enforced with a resolute authority. The acts of this Parliament form the first of a regular series of Scottish laws, and display a considerable degree of political prudence: They confirmed the privileges of the church, restrained disorder, promoted agriculture, regulated domestic intercourse and trade, suppressed vice, discouraged idleness, and prohibited the exportation of gold and silver.

The two following statutes were very unpopular. By the first, the sheriffs were ordered to ascertain what proportion of the Crown lands had been alienated during the regencies of Albany and Murdac, that the Crown might resume what was held by illegal or defective titles. The second imposed a tax leviable for two years, and consisted of the one twentieth of annual-rents and agricultural produce, to defray the sum due for the King's maintenance in England. But, on account of the general dissatisfaction, the latter statute was not enforced, and the King's ransom remained unpaid.

A. D. 1425. James concluded a commercial arrangement with the Flemings; from whom the Scots imported almost every article of commerce. Artisans from that country were invited to Scotland.

A.D. 1426. One of the most beneficial institutions of this reign was the Court of Session,—consisting at first of a Chancellor and certain discreet persons of the three Estates, who were to have three sessions every year, and decide all causes. To promote the agriculture of the Northern districts, the Parliament ordained, that every lord whose territories lay to the north of the Grampian Mountains, should, if a castle was erected upon it, keep it in repair, and either reside there, or appoint a deputy for the encouragement of industry and the observance of the laws.

The Highland chiefs had rendered themselves obnoxious to the Government, by their contumacy. An example of salutary severity was necessary to inculcate the necessity of A. D. 1427. submission. For this purpose, a Parliament assembled at Inverness; which the Highland chiefs were summoned to attend. Many of them were instantly seized and cast into prison: A few were executed. The Lord of the Isles and his brother suffered a temporary confinement.

The frequent assembling of Parliament seems not to have excited a corresponding spirit of alacrity for attendance to Parliamentary duties in the members of that assembly. To compel their regular attendance, a fine of ten pounds was imposed on every one who should be absent without lawful cause. The remedy, however, proved ineffectual; which led A. D. 1428. to an innovation in the constitution. By an act of Parliament, the small barons or freeholders were excused from assembling in the national council, on condition of electing two commissioners or representatives from each shire. These delegates were to have the privilege of choosing the Speaker of the House of Parliament, and to have their expences defrayed, while attending their duty, by their electors.

Notwithstanding the amicable relation maintained with England, it was deemed expedient to renew the ancient league with France. The depressed and necessitous condition of the latter kingdom, suggested the propriety of a marriage-alliance between the Dauphin and the Princess-Royal of Scotland. In lieu of dowry, six thousand men were required and promised, to aid the French against the English; though the successes of the Maid of Orleans rendered any foreign aid unnecessary. This connexion alarmed the English; but they were soothed by negotiations.

A scene of rebellion and anarchy was again exhibited in the Highlands. The Lord of the Isles, who had regained his liberty, raised the standard of rebellion, and burned Inverness: But he was quickly subdued. Upon making the most abject submission, he was confined a prisoner in Tantallon castle. Donald Balloch, a relation of the chief, ravaged Lochaber, and defeated the Earls of Marr and Caithness. Conscious of the atrocity of his offence, and despairing of pardon, he fled to Ireland. The ferocious character of the Highlanders was but little impressed with the King's severity or indulgence. Duff and Moray, two Highland chiefs who had experienced the royal clemency, were no sooner liberated, than, collecting each a force of about twelve hundred men, they met in conflict; and, so desperate was their courage, that, of the whole number, scarcely nine were left alive.

A. D. 1430. A very judicious and necessary measure was projected for overawing the Islanders, and obstructing their daring and destructive incursions. All the landed proprietors on the North and West coast of the island, were required to furnish and equip a certain number of vessels, in proportion to the extent of their domains. But the Highlanders naturally concluded, that an armament under the control of the king might be rather inconvenient to themselves: The royal decree was therefore eluded.

A shocking spectacle of ecclesiastical cruelty was exhibited at this time, in the trial and condemnation of Paul Crawar, a German physician, and a follower of Huss. He had come to Scotland to practise, and probably to learn the state A.D. 1433. of religion in that kingdom. By command of Lindoris, the Inquisitor, he was committed to the flames at St Andrew's.

The decline of the English power in France, and the marriage of the Dauphin to the Princess of Scotland, were mortifying to the former; who used every expedient to frustrate

or protract the consummation of the marriage. It was an unhappy connexion for the bride: She was conducted to her betrothed husband at the age of twelve, lived nine years in splendid misery, and fell a sacrifice to unfounded jealousy.

An infraction of the truce with Scotland, by some of the English Borderers, provoked James to retaliate. Having summoned the whole force of his kingdom to meet him in arms, he invested Roxburgh castle; which he failed to reduce. It was impossible to procure provisions for his numerous army during a tedious siege: An inglorious retreat was therefore the only alternative. It is not improbable that James was induced to disband his forces from considerations of policy; as there was some danger that a multitude which had felt the irksome restraint of the laws would readily avail themselves of an opportunity to gratify their natural propensity for plunder and revenge.

James had really incensed the nobles by his vigorous administration. They alleged that avarice, and not justice, was his latent motive for punishing offenders and confiscating their estates. The commonalty were also displeased, because of the taxes imposed; which they were disposed to view in the light of extortion.

Sir Robert Graham, uncle of the Earl of Stratherne, had suffered imprisonment from some unknown cause. Being naturally of a gloomy and resentful disposition, he brooded over his disgrace, and persuaded a number of the nobles and gentry to support him in representing their grievances to the King. But his violence led him to excess and insult. He rose from his seat in Parliament; and, with indications of violent rage, advanced to the throne, and laid his hand upon the King. "I arrest you," exclaimed he, "in the name of the Estates of your realm here assembled. As your people have sworn to obey you, so are you constrained by an equal oath to govern by law, and not to wrong your subjects, but in justice to maintain and defend them." Then, turning round, he exclaimed, "Is it not thus as I say?" He was immediately ordered into confinement; and was sentenced to suffer banishment, and confiscation of his property.

The gloomy exile meditated revenge. He sent a defiance, in writing, to the King, renouncing his allegiance, and denouncing vengeance, if an occasion ever offered. A royal proclamation was issued, offering a large reward for the apprehension of the audacious rebel; who was meanwhile employed in organizing a conspiracy against the King's life. Walter Earl of Atholl, the King's uncle, and Sir Robert

Stewart, his nephew, were the principal accomplices. Graham offered to support Sir Robert's pretensions to the crown, in the event of the King's assassination.

This sacrilegious murder was committed at Perth, where the court had been celebrating the festival of Christmas. After midnight, Graham, with a gang of Highlanders, forced open the doors where the King was lodged. Alarmed at the noise and at the blaze of torches, the unfortunate Monarch, anticipating the event, tore up a board of the flooring with the fire-irons; and, letting himself down, fastened the board above him. His concealment was discovered, and he was instantly murdered. He died in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

A.D. 1437.

Not satisfied with the blood of the King, the regicides eagerly sought the Queen, to put her to death. Their apprehensions of her resentment were not groundless. In a few weeks, the leaders of the conspiracy were seized, tried, and executed. James left one son and five daughters. He was interred in the church of the Carthusians at Perth. In the monastery, was long preserved the dress in which he was murdered, and which was shown to the devout.

The following are the most remarkable statutes enacted during this reign, besides those already noticed. That no private wars be allowed; that no chief be permitted to travel with a greater number of attendants than he can maintain; that no mendicants be allowed to beg, except such as wear a badge of permission from the local magistrates; that public inns be erected in towns and on the highways; that hospitals for the poor and sick be instituted at the expense of Government; that all idle dependants shall be apprehended, and obliged, under pain of imprisonment, to find employment within forty days; that every menial servant employed in husbandry shall dig at least seven square feet daily; and that the lawsuits of the poor shall be conducted gratuitously.

CHAPTER V.

James the Second. The Queen Regent. Peace with England. Dissentions. Douglas assassinated. James assumes the government. Hostilities. King's marriage. Domestic affairs. Murder of Douglas. Disorders. University of Glasgow founded. Rebellion. James killed.

JAMES the SECOND.—James the Second, a child of six years of age, succeeded his father, and was crowned at Scone. A very judicious Parliamentary enactment was

A. D. 1437.

promulgated, revoking all alienations of lands or other property belonging to the Crown, since the death of the late King, except what had been sanctioned by the Estates; and interdicting all future alienations, unless sanctioned by the Parliament.

The affairs of Scotland during this reign are partially involved in obscurity, from the scarcity of authentic historical materials. It is probable that James the First had, by a testamentary deed, appointed the Queen Regent of the kingdom, with a chosen council; of which, Sir William Crichton the Chancellor, and Sir Alexander Livingstone, appointed guardian of the young King, were intrusted with the chief direction of affairs. Being a native of England, the Queen was suspected of a dangerous partiality for that country: She therefore tacitly withdrew from the government,—leaving the Chancellor and the guardian to maintain their dangerous elevation, against the turbulent aristocracy.

The state of the kingdom imperatively required that the hostilities commenced before the late King's death should be discontinued. A truce for nine years was concluded with England. An unhappy rivalship between Crichton and Livingstone, for the ascendancy, weakened the authority of the Government. The nobles, no longer restrained by the stern authority of the Monarch, relapsed into their former feuds. Joan, the Queen dowager, married Sir James Stewart, commonly called the Black Knight of Lorn; as the barbarism of the age rendered it unsafe for a woman of rank to be without the protection of a warlike husband.

The house of Douglas had been aggrandized by an accession of possessions and titles of honour. Galloway, Annandale, and other domains in Scotland, with the dutchy of Touraine and the lordship of Longueville in France, yielded to the chief of that family a yearly revenue greater probably than that of the Scottish Monarch. William Earl of Douglas, a young nobleman of sixteen, was inexperienced, haughty, and ostentatious; maintaining a train of one thousand horse. In the arrogance of youth, he even created knights, and held courts in imitation of Parliaments. The Chancellor, apprehensive of danger from Douglas's exorbitant power, or perhaps instigated by envy and resentment, adopted an impolitic and execrable expedient to destroy him. He A.D. 1440. invited the Earl and his brother into the castle of Edinburgh; where, after the semblance of a trial, they were beheaded. James Lord of Abercorn succeeded to the estates and titles of Douglas; and transmitted them

to his son, who married Margaret, commonly called the Fair Maid of Galloway, and the sister of the late murdered Earl of Douglas. Thus, by a concurrence of events, the house of Douglas was raised to its former influence and splendour. The King's ministers were the first to feel the resentment of a nobleman whose power became formidable even to the throne.

Having attained his fourteenth year, James was persuaded to assume the government in person. Douglas insinuated himself into his favour and confidence, and procured the dismissal of the late administration. Crichton and Livingstone A. D. 1445. were soon after denounced as rebels, and their estates confiscated. Their castles were taken, and their demesnes ravaged. In revenge, the Chancellor, who had shut himself up in the castle of Edinburgh, made occasional excursions thence, and wasted the estates of Douglas. A royal army, under the King, invested Edinburgh castle. After a tedious siege, it was surrendered upon terms highly favourable to the Chancellor and the garrison. Douglas was created lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He immediately resolved upon and partially accomplished the ruin of Sir Alexander Livingstone and his house.

Several irruptions of the English and Scottish Borderers attracted the attention of the Governments of both kingdoms. The Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Percy entered Scotland with fifteen thousand men. They were met and defeated by a force of six thousand Scots, under Douglas. The Earl of Salisbury, lord lieutenant of the North of England, raised an army of sixty thousand, to revenge the dishonour of his countrymen; but his menaces were unavailing: Thirty-two thousand Scots attacked him by surprise, routed his army, and ravaged the North of England.

An embassy under the Chancellor Crichton proceeded to France, to renew the ancient league between the countries; which was confirmed in the most ample and solemn manner. The embassy were likewise instructed to select a suitable bride for James, now in his eighteenth year. They accordingly entered upon a matrimonial engagement with Mary, daughter of the Duke of Guelderland. The bride landed at Leith; where she was welcomed by an immense concourse of people, who, to her polished attendants, seemed almost barbarians. The nuptials were celebrated with much barbaric pomp.

A very happy change was speedily effected in the King's councils, by the good sense and influence of the Queen.

He abandoned the intemperate advice of Douglas, and availed himself of the experience and sagacity of the Chancellor.

A truce of a new and singular kind was concluded with England, which might be violated with either party, upon giving a notice of one hundred and eighty days. Sir Alexander Livingstone, who had been discarded, was again received into favour,—an ominous event to the house of Douglas.

A. D. 1450. This year is memorable for the institution of the university of Glasgow, by William Turnbull, bishop of that see; who conferred very ample privileges upon it, and procured a bull from Pope Nicholas the Fifth, confirming its establishment.

The native energies of James's character were now developed. He assembled a Parliament at Edinburgh, and enacted a variety of statutes which evince his wisdom and beneficence. He aimed at a thorough reformation of the domestic policy of his country; but his means were not the most eligible or effective: It was then unknown that education only can root out national prejudices, reform the manners, and rectify the judgment.

Mortified by the decay of his influence, Douglas withdrew from court, and passed to Rome, with a train of knights, gentlemen, and attendants, to witness the celebration of the jubilee. Upon his return home, he sent a submissive message to the King, which was graciously received. His Sovereign's forbearance was ungratefully repaid: Douglas persevered in his disorderly and treasonable conduct; he attempted to assassinate the Chancellor; he formed an offensive and defensive league with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, and the Lord of the Isles, whose authority was indisputable in the North.

Several incidents of a less important character served to exhibit the cruelty of Douglas and exasperate the King; who, with the secret advice of his council, determined upon private revenge. The Earl was invited to visit the court, at the castle of Stirling. After supper, the King, taking him apart into a private chamber, mildly desired him to dissolve his illegal combination: But the Earl proudly refused, and upbraided the King as the cause of the confederacy. Such an outrageous contempt of his authority was beyond endurance: James, transported with fury, exclaimed, with an oath, "If you will not break this league, I shall!" and

A.D. 1452. instantly stabbed him with his dagger. An attendant struck the Earl with a battle-axe, and he fell mortally wounded.

Crawford, who was one of Douglas's confederates, upon hearing of his fate, rose in arms. He was met near Brechin, by Huntly, and defeated with great slaughter. The four brothers of the unfortunate Douglas threatened the King with vengeance. They had the temerity to make an insulting proclamation at the gates of Stirling castle. They afterwards burned the town. James's forbearance and authority induced them to return to their duty.

There is an obscurity over the subsequent part of this reign, occasioned by the incoherence and discrepancy of the historians of that period. The most prominent transaction was the final ruin of the house of Douglas. Earl James, the chief of that family, had entered, as is alleged, into a treasonable engagement with Richard Duke of York, who directed the councils of England, and even superseded Henry the Sixth, reduced as he was to a state of mental imbecility. The King of Scots was the sincere and constant friend of Henry, and therefore displeased with the usurpations of York; who necessarily availed himself of the alliance with Douglas to retaliate upon James, and prevent his interference in the affairs of England.

A. D. 1454. Upon discovering the designs of Douglas, James summoned him, by a herald, to appear at court. The Earl not only disobeyed, but caused placards to be stuck upon the doors of the churches of Edinburgh, charging the King with the murder of the two late chiefs of the house of Douglas. An army was immediately mustered, and sent to ravage the lands of the contumacious Earl, and to besiege his castle of Abercorn. Douglas, alarmed at first at the magnitude and imminent danger of the enterprise, retired to the Border, and applied for aid to his English ally; who sent him a pecuniary remittance. The infatuated chief was now reduced to the necessity of making a desperate effort to subvert the throne, or of becoming the melancholy spectator of the ruin of his house. He speedily resolved to raise all his vassals and adherents; whom he summoned to meet him in arms, with twenty days' provision, to pass with him to Abercorn, to rescue that fortress, and give the King battle, or expel him from the kingdom. At this daring resolution, the King was reasonably alarmed. His opponent mustered forty thousand men, inured to action, and hence superior in dis-

cipline to any other Scottish troops. In this extremity, the King passed over to St Andrew's. By the advice of Kennedy, bishop of that see, he issued a proclamation summoning the array of the North, and offering an amnesty to all who should join his army.

A considerable force speedily assembled. Attended by the barons of Fife, Stratherne, and Angus, the King marched to Stirling; where, being joined by the troops from the more Northern shires, his army amounted to forty thousand. The royal army then advanced to give the rebels battle. Bishop Kennedy, desirous to prevent the effusion of blood, succeeded in persuading some of Douglas's adherents to desert and join the King. Their example was contagious: In one night, the whole forces of the Earl deserted him, except about a hundred of his servants and personal attendants. He fled to Annandale, and afterwards to England.

The castles of Abercorn, Douglas, Strathaven, and Creif in Galloway, were razed to their foundations; and, in a Parliament which met at Edinburgh, the family estates were confiscated. Every interval of peace was judiciously employed in legislative deliberations for tranquillizing the kingdom and giving authority and effect to the laws. Of these statutes, one deserves to be recorded, for its superior utility. A council of eight or twelve persons, according to the population, was appointed to sit periodically in each borough, to decide petty lawsuits. This was in fact establishing trial by jury, the most equitable mode of administering justice.

A truce for nine years was concluded with England; but the civil dissentions in that kingdom rendered the continuance of peace very precarious. From some uncertain cause, James advanced with an army to Roxburgh castle, which had remained in the hands of the English since the battle of Durham,—a source of mortification and resentment to the Scots. In this siege, the Scots used artillery made of iron bars and girded with hoops of the same metal. While the King was observing the effects of his rude cannon, one of them suddenly burst. A fragment struck him, and wounded him so severely that he died almost instantaneously. The Earl of Angus, who stood near him, was wounded. Both the army and nation had cause to lament the premature death of a sovereign in the flower of his age, of a beneficent and
A. D. 1460. virtuous character, and the friend of the poor. He was killed in the twenty-ninth year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He left three sons and two daughters.

Whether James devised or deliberately acted upon a plan to depress the aristocracy, is rather uncertain. The house of Douglas was indeed humbled; but the family possessions were given chiefly to the Earl of Angus,—an injudicious distribution, which tended to create as potent an opposition to the royal authority as it had previously experienced from the family of Douglas. Yet, a statute passed in 1458, which permitted lands to be let in *fee, free from military service*, was a step towards the overthrow of the feudal system.

CHAPTER VI.

James the Third. Domestic affairs. Faction of the Boyds. Acquisition of the Orkney and Shetland Islands. Innovations in the municipal laws. Transactions with England. Submission of the Lord of the Isles. Despotical proceedings. Preparations for war. Rebellion. James killed.

A. D. 1460. JAMES the THIRD.—James the Third, a youth of eight years of age, succeeded his father. His mother brought him to the camp upon hearing of the King's death, and exhorted the army to destroy the fortress; which was speedily levelled with the ground. The Prince was crowned at Scone. His mother, assisted by Bishop Kennedy, directed his education. It is uncertain whether she attained the office of Regent by the will of the late King or by the election of the Parliament. Although the civil dissentions that convulsed England prevented any serious operations against the Scots, the English, aware of their danger from a valiant and watchful enemy, had engaged in secret negotiations with some of the Scottish nobility, and attached them to their interest by conferring on them titles and possessions in England.

A.D. 1461. Henry the Sixth of England having been defeated at Touton by Edward the Fourth, fled to Scotland, and engaged the sympathy of the Queen Regent. Berwick was conceded to the Scots; who, in return, sent an army into England; but they were compelled to make a disgraceful and disastrous retreat. George Earl of Angus was engaged to assist the unfortunate Henry by the promise of a ducal dignity, with an estate in England of the annual value of two thousand merks Sterling. To balance the influence A.D. 1462. of Henry in Scotland, his successful rival Edward the Fourth entered into a negotiation with the Lord of the Isles; who became the liege subject of Edward, for a pension, with the promise of ample territories when Scotland should be subdued.

A.D. 1463. The death of the Queen and of Bishop Kennedy was an irreparable loss to the Scots. Mary died, as is supposed, of a broken heart, by a disappointment from Edward of England. The death of Kennedy excited public regret. He was a grandson of Robert the Third; but his virtues and abilities conferred upon him a greater glory than his royal descent. His character was munificent and public-spirited; he was skilful in the laws of his country, an accomplished scholar, and an eminent statesman.

James had entered his fourteenth year when his venerable preceptor died. He was thus left a prey to flattering courtiers; of whom, Robert Lord Boyd, and his sons Thomas and Robert, were the chief. Sir Alexander, Lord Boyd's brother, a mirror of chivalry, was appointed to superintend the military education of the youthful sovereign. Honours and emoluments were conferred upon the Boyds with an unsparing hand. Lord Boyd was appointed guardian of the King and his family, as well as governor of the royal castles. His eldest son Sir Thomas was married to the Princess of Scotland: He received as her dowry the Isle of Arran, A.D. 1467. with other lands, and he was created constable of Scotland.

An embassy was sent to Denmark, to adjust a protracted dispute relative to the accumulated arrears due as annual tribute for the Western Islands. At the suggestion of the King of France, a marriage was concluded between the King of Scots and the Princess of Denmark. In lieu of dowry, her father consented to cancel the arrears, and to make a permanent cession to the Crown of Scotland of the Orkney and Shetland Islands. The proximity of these islands to Scotland, their intrinsic value, and the universal belief that they had anciently belonged to the monarchy, rendered their acquisition a matter of importance and glory.*

A.D. 1469. Margaret of Denmark arrived at Leith, and was married and crowned, though only in her thirteenth year. She is represented as virtuous and accomplished.

* The Orkney and Shetland Islands, originally subject to the Picts, were seized by their victorious rivals the Scots, who transferred them to Norway. They remained in possession of the Norwegians until the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Scots again took possession of them. During the two following centuries, the Norwegians made several bold attempts to recover them. Though these islands were ceded to James the Third, the Danes made subsequent pretensions to them, until, by the marriage of James the Sixth with Anne of Denmark, the rights of the Scots were finally recognized.

The King's marriage was an inauspicious event to his former favourites. He assumed the government, though but eighteen. The fall of the Boyds succeeded. Sir Alexander was beheaded; Lord Boyd and his sons escaped to England, and then to the Continent, where they died in obscurity.

The traits of James's character, upon his assuming the chief authority, began to be distinctly delineated,—in his attachment to favourites, his love of retirement and the arts, and his consequent inattention and aversion to public business. The municipal laws, so loudly complained of in the present day, seem to have originated in this reign. The election of magistrates was, by a legislative enactment, wrested from the burgesses. The old council was to choose the new, and both united were to appoint a provost, bailies, and other officers. Another measure equally objectionable was adopted. The Parliament was put upon the mean and dependant footing of a mere court of justice, existing by the royal pleasure, and assimilated, in terms of contempt, with the inferior courts.

These measures indicate the despotical character of the Scottish government. In the fall of the houses of Douglas and Boyd, the aristocracy received a severe blow. The commons were also depressed. James aimed to rule with absolute authority; but his genius was inadequate to the arduous attempt; and he at last fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the incensed nobility. He was insensible of the weakness of an unsupported throne; and his despotism hence assailed all orders and ranks in the nation.

A. D. 1471. This period is marked by an ecclesiastical dispute. Patrick Graham, who had succeeded Kennedy in the see of St Andrew's, procured a Papal bull for erecting that see into an archbishopric. Besides the dignity of archbishop, Graham was invested with the title and authority of Papal nuncio; but the inferior clergy, dissatisfied with the appointment, made an offer of eleven thousand merks to James, to oppose and insult the archbishop; who was imprisoned in Lochleven castle during the remainder of his life.

A very important treaty was entered into by the English and Scottish Monarchs, and which, had it been fulfilled, would have promoted the interests of both kingdoms, and might have prevented the disaster and disgrace which terminated the succeeding reign. The King of England offered his daughter Cecilia, only four years of age, in marriage to the Prince of Scotland, a child of two years; and with her a portion of twenty thousand merks, to be paid in ten years,

by annual instalments. The poverty of the Scots inclined them to grasp with eagerness at the advantageous proposal; and the Kings mutually engaged to accomplish the marriage in due time. It has been pertinently remarked, that a poor state is in greater danger of being subjugated by the gold than by the arms of a potent neighbour. The annual payment of the Princess's portion might be equivalent to one third of the royal revenue of Scotland; and it is probable that the English, in this transaction, began that system of policy towards Scotland, which in the succeeding century rendered that kingdom so dependant upon England.

A. D. 1474.

Having thus secured the friendship of England, James enjoyed full leisure to improve the domestic policy of his own kingdom. The acquisition of the Orkney and Shetland Islands naturally suggested the importance and necessity of reducing more completely the Western Islands; especially as the Lord of those islands, by his alliances with England, was of doubtful fidelity, and he had on many occasions excited serious alarm by his sudden devastations. He was summoned to appear at court; but, disobeying the royal mandate, sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against him. Naval and military preparations were made to execute the sentence; which induced the refractory chief to appear in Parliament, and supplicate the royal clemency. In consequence of his engaging to maintain the laws of the kingdom, he was confirmed in his jurisdiction and title as Lord of the Isles, but he was deprived of the earldom of Ross, and of Knapdale and Cantire.

A. D. 1476.

The lamentable state of industry and agriculture at this period, rendered the Scots dependant on foreign countries for supplying even the means of sustenance. A parliamentary statute was made, encouraging the importation of corn, by granting a free and unlimited trade to foreigners.

Events of an inauspicious aspect concurred to hasten the inglorious and tragical termination of James's reign; which had been hitherto successful, though not splendid. His kingdom had enjoyed peace since his accession. The acquisition of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, the recovery of the town of Berwick and the castle of Roxburgh from the English, the depression of the aristocracy, prevented the irruption of public discontent. But James's arbitrary conduct had provoked much private animosity; and, having no standing army, he could not govern by fear only. His private pursuits, though not vicious, were unsuitable to the dignity of his station and the temper and genius of his time. Architecture, music,

and painting, were his chief amusements; his chief companions were persons of low rank, though skilful in the mechanical arts.

His brothers, Albany and Marr, were princes of a character dissimilar to the King's. They associated with the nobility, and excelled in martial exercises; which were then esteemed the highest accomplishments; while he, in solitary retirement, neglecting the duties of his high station, incurred the contempt and indignation of the haughty nobility. While he lived in amity with his brothers, their authority and influence restrained any public expression of indignation against him; but their popularity excited his jealousy and resentment.

The wardenship of the Eastern Marches had been assigned to Albany by his father; the command of Berwick and the lieutenancy of the Borders had been subsequently intrusted to him by his brother. A violent feud existed between Albany and the Homes and Lindsays; whose estates lay contiguous to the earldom of March, the property of the Prince. In order to procure Albany's ruin, his enemies applied to Cochrane, one of the King's favourites; who reported to the superstitious Monarch the prediction of a witch, that he should be slain by one of his nearest kindred. The Monarch's suspicions immediately fell upon his brothers: They were seized, upon suspicion of treasonable practices, and confined in separate fortresses. Albany effected his escape A.D. 1479. to France. Marr, less fortunate, was brought to Edinburgh, and bled to death.

An infraction of the truce with England occasioned alternate incursions of the English and Scots, but unimportant in their details. Instigated by ambition or revenge, the fugitive Albany was persuaded to pass over from France to England, and to enter into a treaty with Edward the Fourth against his country. The object of the contract was to dethrone the King of Scots, that Albany might succeed him as Edward's deputy and liege. Richard Duke of Gloucester, A. D. 1481. accompanied by Albany, advanced against Berwick, at the head of the English army.

James applied to his Parliament for aid; which was readily promised: But the nobles took the field with a stronger disposition to regain their lost authority and redress their grievances than to annoy the enemy. About fifty thousand men attended the King from Edinburgh to Lauder; where the nobles, in secret council, deliberated upon their purpose of revenge. The obnoxious royal favourites were Cochrane an

architect, Hommil a tailor, Leonard a smith, Rogers a musician, and Torfijan a fencing-master. Cochrane had been created Earl of Marr; and he was appointed to command the artillery. At the consultation of the nobles upon the most eligible means of despatching these minions, Lord Gray introduced a fable: The mice consulted how they might escape from their tyrannic enemy the cat; it was proposed that a bell should be suspended from her neck, to intimate the approaching danger; but what mouse had courage to fasten the bell? "I shall bell the cat!" said the Earl of Angus, impatiently.* It was instantly determined that James should be placed under a gentle restraint, and that his favourites should be hanged over the bridge at Lauder. Their resolution was speedily executed. Cochrane, ignorant of their designs, proceeded to the council and demanded admission. "Who knocks?" said Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, who guarded the passage. "'Tis I, the Earl of Marr," was the reply. He no sooner entered, than Angus, advancing to him, pulled a gold chain from his neck, and said, with vehe-
A.D. 1482. mence, "A rope will suit thee better!" He, with his companions, was instantly hanged.

Having thus satiated their revenge, the King was conducted to Edinburgh castle, and there confined. Meanwhile, the English took Berwick, and advanced to Edinburgh; but Albany, finding the nobles indisposed to dethrone the King, sued for a pardon, and obtained it. The English army retired. Albany's ambition revived with his security: He renewed his treasonable correspondence with the court of England; which, being discovered, he became a second time an exile in England.

Richard the Third, who had, by treason and assassination, seated himself upon the English throne, was disinclined or incapable to second the ambitious views of Albany. But Douglas, who had been long a fugitive in England, and enjoyed a pension from its sovereigns, agreed to assist him in his designs upon the kingdom; and, with imprudent haste, entered Scotland with five hundred horse, and advanced to Lochmaben, during a fair. But the once-animating name of Douglas had lost its influence even among his former vassals; and the authority of Albany was despised. Their troops were soon overpowered; Albany escaped to England, and passed afterwards to France, where he died; Douglas

* The Earl went afterwards by the appellation of Archibald Bell-the-Cat.

was taken prisoner, and, being conducted to the King's presence, was sentenced to be imprisoned for life in Lindores abbey. "He who may no better be, *must* be a monk," muttered the Earl as he retired.

Peace continued with England. Richard's usurpation was unpopular; it required all his courage and policy to repress the increasing discontent which his cruelty had awakened. His successor, Henry the Seventh, who dethroned and slew the tyrant, deemed it most eligible to cultivate peace with Scotland. James possessed not either talents or spirit to avail himself of the unsettled state of England for revenging the disgraces and miseries inflicted on his country by that nation.

A train of misfortunes preceded the conclusion of James's unhappy reign. Untaught by the tragical fate of his favourites, he relapsed into his former impolitic conduct, associating with persons of mean birth, and secluding himself from the nobility. The nobles beheld with indignation a new set of upstarts closing all the avenues to the royal favour; and they secretly denounced revenge.

A conspiracy was formed by the chief nobility, to imprison and dethrone the King. Despised as he was, he had influence to muster an army of thirty thousand men. The disaffected nobles prepared a formidable force. Both parties were, however, reluctant to put the issue of the contest upon the event of a battle; and a deceitful negotiation suspended for a short time this unnatural contest. James disbanded his troops, and lost an opportunity never to be recalled. His pusillanimity emboldened his enemies to reassemble their adherents, under the pretence that he had evaded or delayed the performance of the articles of pacification.

The rebellious barons artfully reported that the King sought the life of the Prince, his son, who was then in his fifteenth year. It was in his defence that they professed to take up arms; and they constrained the Prince to become their nominal leader. Both sides prepared to terminate the dispute by the sword. The King proceeded to Stirling castle, to join the loyal peers who were advancing to his help; but, upon his arrival, the governor refused him admission.

Impatient and irresolute, he was advised to hazard an engagement near Bannockburn; but the action had scarcely commenced, when he was seized with a panic and fled. He was thrown from his horse, and, oppressed with the weight of his armour, fainted away. He was conveyed, by a miller and his wife, to their cottage; who, upon hearing that he

was the King, and being desired to procure a priest to hear his confession, ran to the road and called aloud, "A priest for the King!" One of the rebels engaged in the pursuit, rode up and exclaimed, "I am a priest; where is the King?" Being conducted to the unfortunate Monarch, the miscreant heard his confession, and then stabbed him to the heart. A.D. 1488. He was interred without any public honour or ceremony.

James the Third was killed in the thirty-sixth year of his age and the twenty-eighth of his reign. He left three sons. Margaret, his amiable and respected Queen, died before him, in the prime of life.

CHAPTER VII.

James the Fourth—his character. Insurrection. Naval transactions—encouragement of the fishery, and of education. Perkin Warbeck. University of Aberdeen instituted. The King's marriage. Domestic policy—foreign relations. The Great Michael. Printing introduced. Dispute with England. Battle of Flodden.

James the Fourth.—James the Fourth, a great and accomplished prince, succeeded his father. Through a defective and neglected education, he possessed few literary acquirements; but his mind was vigorous and acute. His stature was of the middle size, his form well-proportioned, his countenance majestic; and a sound constitution enabled him to endure any fatigue. A spirit of true patriotism directed his councils and won the affections of all ranks; and his talents were equalled by his virtues. His strict administration of justice—the happy concord which subsisted between him and the nobles—his generous patronage of the arts and sciences—his attention to navigation, which had been hitherto strangely neglected—rendered his reign beneficent and glorious. His love of magnificence, his ambition of fame, his skill in military exercises, and even his romantic spirit and chivalrous exploits, wonderfully excited the popular admiration and love.

As soon as the unhappy fate of the late Sovereign was ascertained, Prince James was solemnly crowned at Scone. A revocation of all lands, dignities, and offices, granted by his father since the commencement of the civil war, was published, for the ostensible reason that they had been bestowed by the advice of a council inimical to public liberty. The Estates passed an act of indemnity in favour of all who had been concerned in the late rebellion; but the involuntary

part which the young King had taken in the late unnatural contest, excited in his mind the keenest remorse; and, as an evidence of his contrition, he constantly wore an iron girdle about his body.

The rebellion attracted the notice of the Pope, who directed the thunders of the Vatican at the rebellious barons; but he spared the young Monarch, in consideration of his youth and inexperience.

Various measures were recommended by the Parliament for repressing disorder and giving effect to the laws. The castle of Dunbar was ordered to be demolished; the Lords of Justiciary were commanded to accompany the King in his journeys through the kingdom, for the administration of justice; and for the more effectual security of the public peace, certain noblemen and gentlemen were impowered to take cognizance of theft, and to restrain the rapacious habits of the people, until the King should attain the age of twenty-one.

A. D. 1489. In a session of Parliament held at Edinburgh, the see of Glasgow was raised into an archbishopric. Many of the nobles who had participated in the defeat and disgrace of the late King, regarded James as a captive in the hands of his father's murderers. Lord Forbes, like another Anthony, displayed at Aberdeen the bloody shirt of the murdered King, suspended from the point of a spear, and loudly summoned all loyal subjects to revenge his death. A very considerable sensation was produced in the North; and the Earl of Lennox, with a powerful force, prepared to join the malecontents in that quarter: But he was surprised in his march, on the south of the Forth, by Lord Drummond; and his followers were dispersed.

Lord Home was prime minister during the greater part of this reign. He was the King's governor, warden of the Eastern Marches, tutor to the Earl of Marr, and chamberlain of Scotland for life. The Earl of Angus was continued warden of the Western Marches. Upon the death of Argyll, three years after, he was created chancellor.

A. D. 1490. The history of Scotland has hitherto been barren of naval transactions. The Government had given but slight attention to naval architecture; small fishing and coasting vessels exhausted the skill of the carpenter and the capital of the merchant; and it is doubtful whether any Scottish vessel had hitherto ventured beyond the shores of Denmark and Flanders.

Five English vessels having entered the Frith of Forth,

captured some Scottish barks. James and his counc[illegible] spatched Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, with two ships [illegible] manned, and provided with some cannon, in quest of the [illegible] lish; whom he engaged and captured, on the coast of D[illegible] Henry the Seventh of England, mortified by this unexp[illegible] disgrace of the English flag, from a power whose ma[illegible] force had been despised and neglected, engaged St[illegible] Bull, an English officer, by the promise of a conside[illegible] pension, to sail in quest of Wood, and revenge the natio[illegible] disgrace. Bull commanded three ships, Wood two. T[illegible] latter had been escorting some merchant-vessels to Flanders, and was returning home, unapprized of the enemy, until he discovered their ships under sail to attack him, near the Isle of May.

He instantly prepared for action, animated his men by a short address, which was returned by acclamations, and gave them a liberal allowance of wine. The Scots skilfully attained the windward of the foe, and engaged in a close and sanguinary combat for two days; when the fleets were carried, by the wind and tide, opposite the mouth of the Tay. The valour and skill of the Scots prevailed: The English squadron was captured, and brought to Dundee. Wood presented his prisoners to James, at Edinburgh; who praised their courage, and set them at liberty.

A.D. 1493. The independence of the Scottish church having been threatened by the encroachments of the Roman court, the Estates enacted several ordinances both prudent and spirited. The foreign disposal of elective benefices was annulled; the ecclesiastics were threatened with punishment, if they violated at Rome any statute of the realm or privilege of the Scottish church; all appeals to Rome in civil cases were prohibited; benefices were guarded from Papal exactions; and no person was to be allowed to appear as legate in Scotland, except he were a native, or had attained the rank of cardinal.

A statute of paramount importance was passed for encouraging the fishery. All the boroughs and towns within the realm were commanded to furnish a specified number of ships and *busses*, according to their reputed wealth; the smallest of which should be of twenty tons, and furnished with men and all necessaries. The Legislature appears to have had in view the reformation of the habits of the nation,—the statute representing the necessity of employing idlers and vagabonds, who thus would contribute to their livelihood and the good of the realm.

nother ordinance, of a very salutary nature, evinces the tive education of the higher classes, and their disinclina- to literary acquirements. All the barons of the realm enjoined, under the penalty of twenty pounds, to edu- their sons in Latin, in the law, and the sciences, that might be qualified for sheriffs and ordinary judges. This ure contributed greatly to the spread of knowledge. But education of the commonalty was disregarded, as inex- dient, unnecessary, or injurious to the feudal subordination nd ecclesiastical ascendancy.

It is pleasing to contemplate the prosperous state of Scot- land at this period,—exempted from foreign war, blessed with domestic tranquillity, the King and all ranks of his subjects united by the ties of mutual confidence and affection. The example of the youthful Monarch, who delighted in martial exercises, tournaments, music, and the arts, accelerated the progress of civilization and refinement. Nor did his youth- ful wildness or the eccentricities of his character lessen his popularity among the lower classes. He frequently travelled in disguise, lodged in the cottages of the peasantry, and en- gaged in hazardous and even ludicrous enterprises. In these rambles, the young Monarch provoked and profited by the language of truth, which is not always heard in palaces.

A.D. 1496. His romantic and generous spirit plunged his coun- try into a war with England. Perkin Warbeck, the pretended son of Edward the Fourth, patronised by Charles the Eighth of France and Maximilian King of the Romans, arrived in Scotland with recommendatory letters from these monarchs to James. The Dutchess of Burgundy likewise appealed to his knighthood in behalf of the impostor. Cap- tivated by his accomplished demeanour, and dazzled with the splendour of the adventure, James believed or affected to credit the account of his legitimacy, and gave him in mar- riage the Lady Catharine Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Huntly, a young lady of great beauty and virtue.

Notwithstanding the approach of winter, James determined to make a vigorous effort in favour of Perkin. With this view, he raised a considerable army, and entered into Eng- land; where Perkin issued a manifesto, commanding the English to assemble around his standard; but it was treated with neglect and scorn. Irritated by disappointment, the King abandoned the enterprise as hopeless, and dismissed Perkin as an impostor.

Henry the Seventh of England was a prince of a pacific character. Being sensible that the imposture of Perkin would

soon be exposed, he commanded his lieutenant of the North of England to retaliate with moderation. Henry was desirous to establish a permanent peace between the sister kingdoms; and therefore offered his daughter in marriage to James; who was prevailed upon, by Henry's importunity, to consent to a connubial alliance with the English princess when she should attain her fourteenth year.

A.D. 1500. The beginning of the sixteenth century was distinguished by the opening of a third university in Scotland. William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, had obtained a bull from the Pontiff, six years before, for the erection and endowment of an university in that city. Hector Boece, the Scottish historian, was appointed the first principal. He had been brought from Paris. His salary was forty merks Scots. An institution of inferior importance, the order of St Andrew or the Thistle, was nearly coeval.

A. D. 1503. Conformably to the marriage-treaty, the Princess Margaret of England arrived in Scotland, and was wedded to James. In their alliance was laid the foundation of the union of two kingdoms, which, from their local situation, were intended by Nature to form one powerful state. From this auspicious union, sprung a very important negotiation, which terminated in a treaty of perpetual peace; but which was infracted in the course of ten years.

The celebration of the royal nuptials presented a very magnificent spectacle. The blooming bride was accompanied by a splendid retinue. A succession of gorgeous tournaments, in unison with the taste of an age of chivalry, and graced with the beauty of the two nations, as well as by the presence of some distinguished foreigners, was diversified with public shows, the feast, the carousal, and the dance. Emulous of singularity, James appeared in the character of the savage knight, attended by the Highlanders and Borderers; who entertained the spectators with a real and sanguinary conflict. Dunbar, the Scottish poet, celebrated the event in the poetical allegory of the "Thistle and the Rose."

The tranquillity of the kingdom presented a favourable opportunity for improving the domestic policy, especially of the Highland districts: The Parliament therefore directed its exertions, with laudable zeal, to accomplish that desirable object. A sentence of forfeiture was issued against John Lord of the Isles, for his contempt and breach of fealty

during the last reign; and his territories were annexed to the Crown. It was expressly ordained, that the Highlands and Islands should be governed by the common law of the land, and not by feudal authority or local usage: Sheriffs and justices of the peace were therefore ordered to hold courts at stated times, for the strict administration of the laws. Two other acts of Parliament are worthy of record,—the exemption of the small barons from attendance in Parliament, except when summoned by a special mandate from the King; and the assembling of commissioners from the boroughs, as one of the branches of the Legislature, to give their consent in the voting of taxes.

A stimulus was given to agriculture and industry, by an extension of the act of 1457, by which the vassal was exempted from military service; and was only bound to pay a rent in money or grain, with some agricultural services to his lord. The Parliament enacted that the King might let all his lands in *feu*; and that, for the improvement of the country, all the barons and prelates might follow a similar practice.

James seems to have interested himself in the general concerns of Europe more than any of his royal predecessors. By his activity and influence, he prevented the patrimonial territories of his relative Charles Duke of Guelderland from being seized by Philip of Castile. He exerted himself with less success in mediating between the Danes and the Swedes; the latter having determined to assert their independence.

The increasing intercourse between Scotland and the Continent suggested the necessity of improving, or rather creating a navy. This was a favourite and laudable pursuit of James during the latter part of his reign; but which, with his other profuse expenditure, contributed to embarrass his finances. His kingdom had already produced skilful and gallant seamen, but the Scottish ship-carpenters were very unskilful in naval architecture. He therefore applied to the King of France for shipbuilders and timber, in order to enlarge his navy. With their assistance, an enormous vessel was constructed, two hundred and forty feet in length and fifty-six in breadth. Its sides were ten feet thick, to defy the force of cannon; and the expense was estimated at thirty thousand pounds Sterling, exclusive of the artillery. Only thirty-five cannons of a large size were erected upon this unwieldy structure. This celebrated vessel was called the Great Michael. Its mariners, gunners, and soldiers, amount-

ed to fourteen hundred; commanded by Wood and Barton, men renowned in the naval records of Scotland.*

Tournaments and other expensive amusements continued to be exhibited at the Scottish court, which was a scene of gayety and amorous intrigue. Palaces were erected at Falkland and Stirling. The pompous Monarch expended considerable sums in improving his breed of horses from Poland and Spain. So much had he exhausted his ability by his extravagance, that he proposed to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, until his financial embarrassments should be removed.

The art of printing, that greatest and most useful of all modern inventions, was about this period introduced into Scotland.

A. D. 1509. The death of Henry the Seventh was an inauspicious event to Scotland. It occasioned a great alteration in the relations of that kingdom with England, and opened a new and great series of affairs which produced most tragical and disastrous events. Upon his accession to the throne, Henry the Eighth unhappily reversed his father's political maxims with regard to Scotland. James, regardless of Henry's alliance, concluded a treaty with France, engaging to coöperate with that power against all her enemies; which were England, Spain, the Netherlands, Venice, Switzerland, the Emperor of Germany, and the Pope. The jealousy of the English was roused; and the Scottish merchants complained of depredations committed at sea upon their shipping.

Messengers were despatched to London, demanding redress; which was evaded or refused. A compensation was however offered by Henry for the infraction of the Border laws by his subjects, if James would abandon his alliance with France; but the Scottish Monarch had been artfully secured by the address of the Queen of France, who wrote him an amorous letter, imploring him, as her knight, and the prince of chivalry, to advance three steps into England. Fourteen thousand crowns and a ring from the Queen's own finger accompanied this moving appeal.

Meanwhile, Henry passed over to France with a powerful army. Alarmed for the consequences, a Scottish fleet, with three thousand troops on board, was despatched to the aid

* "If any man," says Lindsay of Pitcottie, "believe that this description of the ship be not of verity, as some have written, let him pass to the gate of Tullibardine, and there, before the same, he will see the length and breadth of her planted with hawthorn, by the wright that helped to make her. As for other properties of her, Sir Andrew Wood is my author, who was quartermaster in her, and Robert Bartyne, who was master-shipper."

of France. A very spirited remonstrance was at the same time sent to Henry, denouncing war, in the event of his refusing to suspend his operations against the French. In opposition to the advice of his council, James summoned the whole array of his kingdom to meet him at the Burrowmuir, near Edinburgh, with provisions for forty days,—the period that a feudal army was bound to serve, unless its expenses were defrayed by the Sovereign, a circumstance yet unknown in Scotland.

While the forces were collecting, Lord Home made an unsuccessful incursion into England. James, who was very superstitious, was dejected at this ominous prelude; and some of his courtiers availed themselves of the opportunity to dissuade him, if possible, from his meditated attempts upon England. As he was engaged at his devotions in the church of Linlithgow, a venerable bald-headed personage, dressed in a blue gown, linen girdle, and sandals (probably representing St Andrew, the tutelar saint of Scotland), advanced with intrepidity to the royal seat, and, with an authoritative voice, commanded James to desist from his intended invasion. This stratagem having proved unsuccessful, another was devised to dispirit and disperse the army. At the dead hour of night, a voice was heard at the cross of Edinburgh, summoning the advisers and the chief leaders of the war to answer before the infernal tribunal. But these expedients were unavailing: Even the Queen's entreaties and tears could not dissuade the infatuated Monarch from his purpose. Unconscious that he was no general, he proceeded as to a tournament, and with a numerous army entered England.

A.D. 1513. While James was besieging an unimportant fortress, or dallying with a paramour, the Earl of Surrey, lieutenant of the Northern counties of England, made vigorous exertions to repel the enemy. He collected an army of thirty thousand men; and sent a herald with a challenge offering the Scots battle. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his most experienced generals, James rashly accepted the challenge.

By skilful manœuvres, Surrey contrived to throw his army in the rear of the Scots, who were encamped on the field of Flodden. The latter perceiving their error, set fire to their tents, and hastened to gain an eminence, which they feared might prove an advantageous post for the enemy. The English advanced to the base of the hill unperceived, in consequence of the smoke of their cannon being blown in the face of the Scots,

An engagement having now become inevitable, both armies advanced to the combat. The English forces were divided into two lines: Lord Howard, the admiral, commanded the main body, in the centre of the first line, Sir Edmund Howard the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Constable the left; the centre of the second line was commanded by Surrey, the right wing by Lord Dacres, and the left by Sir Edward Stanley.

The front of the Scots presented three divisions to the enemy: The centre was led by the King, the right wing by the Earl of Huntly and Lord Home, the left by the Earls of Lennox and Argyll; a body of reserve was commanded by the Earl of Bothwell.

September 9. At four in the afternoon, the action commenced. Huntly, after a sharp conflict, disordered the left wing of the English, and chased them off the field. Elated by Huntly's success, the undisciplined Highlanders, under Lennox and Argyll, rushed down the hill to the attack, in opposition to the entreaties of La Motte, the French Ambassador. Sir Edmund Howard received this tumultuous body with coolness and valour; while Lord Dacre, who commanded the cavalry reserve, wheeled about during the attack, fell upon their rear, and put them to the sword without resistance.

The divisions under James and Bothwell bravely encountered the foe, animated by the valour of their leaders. The King of Scots, perceiving his desperate condition, dismounted, with many of his nobles, and struggled in the front rank with the English spearmen. In this unequal conflict, many Scottish peers were slain; the Monarch was mortally wounded with an arrow, and was soon after cut down by an English bill-axe. The rear of the Scottish centre maintained their ground, and protracted the action till night.

About five thousand men fell on each side. The English lost few persons of rank, while the Scots had to deplore the fate of their King and the flower of their nobility. Such was the fatal battle of Flodden. Since the time of Malcolm Canmore until now, no Scottish monarch had fallen in battle.

It was long believed among the Scots, that their Monarch, having escaped from the battle, had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, whence he would soon return, and take possession of his throne. The body of the King was identified on the field of battle, and conveyed in a leaden coffin to London; where it was interred by the special permission of Leo the Tenth. As James had been excommunicated for his in-

fraction of the treaty with England, the absolution of the Pontiff was indispensable before interment.* James was slain in the forty-first year of his age and the twenty-sixth of his reign.

Had his successor been a spirited prince of full age, he would have possessed facilities to render himself independent of his nobles which none of his predecessors ever possessed.

The reign of James the Fourth was one of the most brilliant periods in Scottish history; and forms a remarkable contrast with the calamitous reigns of the two following centuries, until Scotland ceased to be an independent kingdom.

CHAPTER VIII.

James the Fifth. State of the kingdom. Policy of Henry. Embassy to Denmark. Intestine strife. State of the government. Albany Regent —his administration. Domestic affairs. A Parliament. Treaty with France. Court intrigues.

A. D. 1513. JAMES the FIFTH.—The defeat at Flodden exposed the independence of Scotland to the most imminent danger. Her monarch was slain; his son and successor was only eighteen months old; the principal nobility were slain or made prisoners; France being the theatre of war, could afford no aid. At this alarming crisis—when the nation was plunged in grief, when scarcely a noble family had not to deplore the death of a member or relative—the public sorrow was heightened by terror at the scene that seemed ready to open of servitude and ruin. It was doubtful whether Henry would regard the slender tie of consanguinity, and have compassion upon his helpless nephew: He might be tempted rather to wrest from him his kingdom, left defenceless by the loss of its noble and valiant warriors.

Though Henry forebore to follow the example of the first Edward in openly avowing his designs upon Scotland, he pursued a policy hardly less odious, but more refined and effective. Perceiving that persuasion is more powerful than force, and that the sums expended in fruitless war might be more advantageously applied in the regular pay of a party, he determined thus to divide and thwart the Scottish Govern-

* Pennant affirms, that he was interred in the abbey of Shene; and that, upon the dispersion of the religious inhabitants, the body was indecently flung into a lumber-room, where it continued till the reign of Elizabeth. Some workmen wantonly cut off the head; which was afterwards interred among the vulgar. The sword and dagger of the ill-fated Monarch were presented by Surrey to the Herald's office.

ment, and virtually direct its operations to his own advantage. He would thus balance and neutralize the influence of France, and escape the odium attached to open conquest.

Since the tyrannical interference of Edward the First, the Scots had attached their interests to those of France. The alliance with that power was mutually advantageous. England was an overmatch for either singly; but, by blending their interests, they more effectually opposed the common enemy or paralyzed her operations against either. But the establishment of an English party in the government of Scotland, rendered that kingdom a scene of domestic discord and intrigue until its union with England.

A national council, consisting chiefly of the dignified clergy, met at Perth, soon after the arrival of the fatal news from England. It is supposed that the infant Monarch was then crowned; and that, agreeably to the will of the late King, the Queen, as Regent, assumed the reins of government. She was soon after delivered of a son, Alexander, Duke of Ross; who died in his second year.

After the battle of Flodden, Surrey dismissed his army; yet the war continued between the English and Scottish Borderers. Henry, who was then in France, instructed Lord
A.D. 1514. Dacre, warden of the Eastern Marches, to make frequent inroads into Scotland; which he readily obeyed. An embassy was sent by the Scots to Denmark, to represent the distressed state of their country, and to solicit a supply of troops and ammunition. Little attention was given to their representations; and, to aggravate their misfortunes, the Emperor of Germany, being in alliance with England, prohibited the Scots from commercial intercourse with his subjects.

Intestine strife continued to agitate and perplex the operations of the Government. As several eminent churchmen had fallen at Flodden, violent disputes were excited by the rival candidates for the vacant sees and abbacies. Even the Parliament exhibited scenes of indecorous warmth: The young peers despised and opposed the counsels of the more experienced. The English were exactly informed by hired spies of every material transaction, and neglected not to avail themselves of their advantage.

The Earl of Crawford was appointed to superintend the administration of justice on the north side of the Forth, and Lord Home on the south. John Duke of Albany, the son of Alexander brother of James the Third, was invited to assist or supersede the Queen in the government; which was con-

sidered as the only remedy for terminating the disorders of the kingdom. Until the Duke's arrival from France, a temporary regency, including the Queen, was appointed; but her marriage with the young and blooming Earl of Angus eventually undermined her ambitious schemes. The nobility became disaffected to her authority; her brother was displeased at an alliance which impaired his influence; disrespect and insult assailed her everywhere; and the office of chancellor was conferred upon her personal enemy, James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow.

A very insidious proposal was made by Henry, that the Queen, with her infant sons, should retire into England; but it was rejected. Scotland was at this time in a state of anarchy. Robertson of Strowan, with a band of eight hundred followers, ravaged Atholl; but he was seized and executed. The Earls of Lennox and Glencairn surprised and possessed themselves of Dunbarton castle, in opposition to the authority of the Queen. The Earls of Angus and Arran, transported with mutual animosity, collected large parties of their followers, and ravaged each other's estates. To such a degree had the public disorder increased, that it became unsafe to travel without armed attendants.

Albany's arrival was daily expected; and it was hoped that his authority would control the public disorder. He arrived at Dunbarton, with a fleet laden with ammunition and warlike stores. His polished manners, his affability, with the French gold and luxuries which he profusely distributed, conciliated the discordant nobles.

A Parliament was assembled at Edinburgh, which restored the forfeited estates and honours of Albany's family. The ceremony of inauguration was performed with great splendour: A crown was placed on Albany's head, a sword was delivered him, the nobles made obeisance, and he was proclaimed protector and governor of Scotland. His regency was to continue until the King should attain his eighteenth year.

But the new Regent was a stranger to the arts of government: He displayed the haughty vantity of a Frenchman; his chief confidents were Frenchmen; and he publicly owned the French Monarch as his master. So opinionative was he, that, upon the slightest contradiction, even from his familiar friends, he would throw his bonnet into the fire. The English ministry speedily discovered his weakness. "If he be such a man," said Surrey, "with God's grace, we shall speed the better."

At the commencement of his government, he resolved to impress his enemies with a respect for his power. These were the Queen, the Earls of Angus and Home. Angus's maternal grandfather was committed to prison for a slight offence. Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, because he had applied for that see through the Queen, was committed a prisoner to the sea-tower at St Andrew's. In vain did the Queen intercede, with tears, for that venerable prelate.

The influence of England was successfully exerted in disturbing the Regent's authority, and inflaming the mutual jealousies of the disaffected peers. A mandate from Albany directed the local authorities in shires and boroughs to revive the laws of James the Fourth, and govern by them; but in this salutary policy he was opposed, and the national tranquillity was no better established than before his arrival.

The proposal already noticed, for conveying the infant King and his brother into England, afforded the Regent a plausible reason for removing them from the charge of their mother, with whom they had hitherto remained, and to whom the guardians formerly nominated had been subordinate. Four lords were appointed by the Parliament, of whom the Queen had the power to reject any one that she disliked. These peers were to have the charge of the royal infants, and to be wholly independent of the Queen. The peers accordingly repaired to the castle of Edinburgh, whither she had retired. Upon their approach, the gates were thrown open, and the Queen was discovered with the infant King by her side, his brother in the nurse's arms, Angus and the domestics standing around. The Queen, in a loud and authoritative voice, commanded them to explain the purport of their visit; which they had no sooner done, than she exclaimed, "Drop the portcullis!" In an instant that massy grate was let down, and the nobles stood astonished. "Of this castle," resumed the Queen, "was I appointed sole governor, by my late husband's will; and before I resign the command of so important a trust, I desire that I may have six days to consider the resolution of Parliament, which I respect."

The Queen meanwhile escaped, with her infant sons, to the castle of Stirling; whither she was pursued by Albany, with seven thousand men. This hostile array intimidated and dispersed the Queen's few attendants. By the command of his mother, the infant King delivered to the Regent the keys of the fortress. The Princes were then consigned to the

charge of the Earl Marischal and the Lords Borthwick and Fleming.

A scene of terror and confusion ensued. Angus and Home fled to their estates in the South. The Queen soon followed them; and Albany summoned the loyal barons to meet him, with their vassals in arms, at the Burrowmuir, near Edinburgh, to pursue the fugitives, and to repel their meditated incursions into the heart of the kingdom.

After lingering a short time in expectation of succours from Henry,—Home, the Queen, and Angus, retired into England upon Albany's approach. Home was soon after decoyed into Scotland, and committed to the charge of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Arran; who was induced by some unknown cause to permit his prisoner to escape, and become the partner of his flight to England. The fugitive lords entered into a solemn engagement with Angus to deliver the Princes from the Regent's power, and to assist each other in overturning his authority. Yet the Earl of Arran was soon after persuaded, by his aged mother, the daughter of James the Second, to return to his allegiance to Albany. That nobleman resembled his son, who appears in the succeeding reign: He was weak and irresolute; and could therefore add little to the stability or vigour of the existing administration.

The death of the royal infant, the Duke of Ross, which happened at this time, under very suspicious circumstances, excited much odium against Albany, who was indirectly accused as the cause of his death.

Angus and Home, despairing of subverting the government of Albany by force, returned into Scotland, and retired quietly to their estates. Angus had not apprised or consulted the Queen, who was then confined by sickness. An irreconcilable difference was the consequence; and the Queen repair-
A. D. 1516. ed to London, where she was kindly received by her brother.

Although Henry had concluded a short truce with the Scots, he was so dissatisfied with Albany's conduct, that he despatched a letter to the Scottish Parliament demanding his dismission from the office of Regent. A spirited reply was returned, representing that the election of Albany had been unanimous, and that they would support his authority. Albany's situation was rendered very uncomfortable by the machinations of his enemies: Lord Dacre boasted to Wolsey, Henry's minister, that he had in pay no fewer than four hun-

dred Scots, whose sole employment was to excite tumults and distract the country. The Earl of Home being suspected of abetting these disorders, was seized, condemned, and executed.

The pacific relation between England and France had induced the latter to withdraw from the Scots that active support which Albany's authority rested upon. A private hint was communicated to him from France, recommending his temporary removal from the direction of the government. As the consent of the Parliament was indispensable, the Regent requested permission to visit France, for the ostensible purpose of settling some urgent private affairs and visiting his family; which, after some hesitation, was granted. But, to maintain the remnant of his power, he appointed D'Arcy, A. D. 1517. a Frenchman, to succeed Home in the wardenship of the Marches, and Lord Fleming to the office of chamberlain.

Albany's removal was the effect of Henry's private resentment: He had therefore no sooner sailed for France, than preparations were made for the reception of Margaret. Upon her arrival, a council of Regency was formed, in which were included the leaders of the contending factions; which produced, during the Regent's absence, a season of unusual tranquillity.

The elevation of a foreigner to the wardenship inflamed the resentment of the Homes, who resorted to the insidious expedient of cutting him off by assassination. An investigation was instituted by the Parliament, and sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against the assassins; but they were pardoned soon after.

The discord between the Queen and her husband the Earl of Angus, unhappily inflamed the animosities of their respective friends. Angus's profligacy induced the Queen to propose a divorce, which her brother strenuously opposed. The Earl of Arran retired to Glasgow, whither he was followed by the nobles attached to the French interest. Angus, with the partisans of England, continued at Edinburgh. The country was thus divided into two factions. Errol, Crawford, Glammis, the Archbishop of St Andrew's, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Orkney, Dunblane, resorted to Edinburgh, where the King resided. Lennox, Eglinton, Cassillis, Sempil, Ross, Beaton Archbishop of Glasgow, now the chancellor, the Bishop of Galloway, the Abbot of Paisley, attached themselves to Arran; who, it would seem, ex-

ercised the dignified office of lieutenant of the kingdom during Albany's absence.

A.D. 1520. A Parliament met at Edinburgh, to compose the national disorders; but a scene of tumult and outrage ensued. It is impossible to conceive the misery of the kingdom, distracted by the furious enmity of a proud aristocracy. The partisans of Arran and Angus had a fierce encounter in the High Street; seventy were slain, and Arran, with his defeated followers, fled to Stirling.

Though Albany was reluctantly detained in France, he was not inattentive to the interests of Scotland: He concluded a treaty of perpetual alliance between the kingdoms; which was the basis of the subsequent connexions between them, and to the latter so fatal. And, to strengthen the interests of his party, the King of France sent a splendid embassy into Scotland. An envoy from Albany succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the Queen and the Regent.

His political relations with England no longer demanded that the French Monarch should detain Albany in France: He therefore left that country for Scotland. Upon his arrival, he was joined by the Queen. His court was soon crowded with nobles, who hastened to present to him their congratulations. Accompanied by a numerous and splendid suite, he entered Edinburgh, and received from the Queen the keys of the castle and the charge of the young King's person.

Angus and his adherents, deserted by the Queen, fled to the Borders. Unable to oppose the Regent's authority, they had recourse to the dishonourable expedient of circulating a report of an intended marriage between Albany and the Queen, and of a design upon the young King's life, with the view of aspiring to the crown. These accusations were listened to by the English court; and Henry, affecting to consider the Regent as the vassal of France, prepared for war.

The fugitive Angus hovered about the frontiers, in the anxiety of suspense. He applied to the Queen to use her influence with the Regent for obtaining his pardon. It is not improbable that his application was accompanied by his consent to a divorce. Albany consented to pardon him, on condition that he should exile himself to France. Angus accordingly passed over to France; and returned in two years after to Scotland. During his exile, he had gained so much skill and experience, that, upon his return, he attained

the direction of the government, and successfully combated all the efforts of the Queen and the fallen Regent.

CHAPTER IX.

Transactions with England. Incursions. Albany's unpopularity and retirement. State of parties. Insurrection. The King assumes the government. Border hostilities. Factions of Angus and Lennox. A battle. Disorders. James escapes to Stirling.

A. D. 1522. A VARIETY of singular and unexpected changes took place in the government of Scotland during the last six years of the King's minority. The war which was about to open with England produced no decisive effect; but it hastened the downfal of the Regent's authority. Henry of England had expressed his fixed determination to drive him from the government; and he addressed a remonstrance to the Scottish Parliament, accompanied with a declaration of war if his desire were not complied with. A squadron of seven English ships was sent to the Frith of Forth; a few maritime towns and villages were destroyed; and the English retired, after encountering a gallant opposition from the Scots.

Disappointed in her ambitious views, and probably influenced by a deference to public opinion, the Queen began to waver in her attachment to Albany, and corresponded with Lord Dacre; to whom she detailed minutely the hostile preparations of the Scots,—who were urged by the French to invade England, in order, if possible, to prevent Henry from sending an army to the Continent. The English Cabinet issued a proclamation for a general arming through the Northern counties; of which the Earl of Shrewsbury was constituted lieutenant-general. On the side of England, the war was not strictly defensive, as several incursions and one great inroad were made by the English, who fired the town of Kelso.

An ineffectual attempt was made to negotiate a truce: The Scots were indisposed to make concessions; and they made vigorous preparations for the invasion of England. One of the most effective and best-appointed armies that the Scots had ever mustered, took the field, and advanced to the frontiers. A general terror pervaded the English: Their armies were on the Continent; Wolsey was a more skilful statesman than warrior; and the English exchequer was completely drained.

Fortunately for England, the Scottish army, though reported to be eighty thousand strong, and well supplied with brass cannon and small-arms, necessaries, and provisions, wanted a leader; for Albany was an accomplished gentleman, but not a soldier. The Scots had not forgotten the disasters at Flodden. After an interview with Lord Dacre, the Regent consented to disband his army, and sacrificed an opportunity never to be recalled. But the pacification, though agreeable to the Scots, might be offensive to the French Monarch: Albany therefore resolved to sail to France, to apologize for his disobedience, and to solicit a supply of veteran troops, money, and warlike stores.

The government, during his absence, was intrusted to Beaton the chancellor, Huntly, Argyll, and Arran; who were instructed not to enter into any farther negotiation with England without the Regent's concurrence. Being apprised of his departure, the English despatched an envoy into Scotland to examine and report the state of parties, to ascertain the disposition of the nobles towards a permanent peace, and to complain of Albany's partiality for France, and his disregard of the true interests of the Scots. But the lords of the Regency returned an evasive answer. Weary of delay, Henry instructed the Earl of Surrey to invade Scotland. At the head of ten thousand men, Surrey ravaged Merse, Tiviotdale, and the adjacent country, A.D. 1523. levelling the turreted castles of the barons and the mud-walled cottages of the peasantry.

Notwithstanding these hostile appearances, the Queen and Surrey were actively engaged in private negotiation. A plan was concerted to invest the Queen with the regency, under the pretence of committing the government to the King. Margaret was thus detached from the French party, and warmly engaged in the English interest. Her motives were not very disinterested; for she complained that Albany had withdrawn her pension.

But the Regent's sudden appearance disconcerted these projects. He arrived in the Clyde, with an armament of four thousand French infantry and one hundred men at arms, an abundant supply of artillery, ammunition, and wine. The Regent ordered a public display of his foreign troops and artillery; and an equally effective display of French gold confirmed in his favour the wavering opinions of the aristocracy.

In order to atone, by a splendid achievement, for the disgrace of his former campaign, he instigated the nobles to revenge the misfortunes of Flodden. An army of sixty thou-

sand was speedily assembled; with which he marched to chastise the enemy. Surrey assembled a force of fifty thousand men to repel the invaders; who were engaged in besieging the unimportant fortress of Werk. Upon Surrey's approach, Albany trembled, and ordered a retreat. His astonished army, infected with his pusillanimity, fled during a tempest.

This was a fatal blow to Albany's interest. Many of the peers insisted on his resignation of the regency. Both the nobles and the common people despised him; and seeing no prospect of regaining the confidence of the nation, he re-
A. D. 1524. solved to take his final leave of a country in which he had experienced such mortification and disgrace.

No sooner had Albany departed, than it was determined to commit the supreme power ostensibly to the King, now in his twelfth year; but, in reality, to a council devoted to the interests of England. The Queen was included; for, though she was distrusted by her brother, she was at this time a favourite of the Scottish nation, and her influence was successfully exerted in detaching several of the peers from the French interest. Of this number was the Earl of Arran; who had long aspired to the regency against Albany. With such a coadjutor, the authority of the Queen, and consequently the English interest, became irresistible.

Under these auspicious circumstances, the Queen, accompanied by her son, left Stirling castle, and arrived in Edinburgh amidst acclamations of joy. A numerous assemblage of lords, temporal and spiritual, crowded to the young Monarch's court, and entered into a solemn engagement to support his authority: But the Queen and Arran directed his councils. Arran's strict observance of the laws, and his prudent and orderly deportment, were unfortunately associated with imbecility and pride. The Queen's demeanour was haughty, inconsiderate, and impolitic. By her reserved conduct towards the nobles, she lost their affection and support; by her amours, she forfeited the respect of the people; and by her connexion with Arran, who inclined to favour the French interest, she excited the jealousy of England.

After two years' residence in France, the Earl of Angus suddenly left that country, and arrived in London; where he was treated with flattering distinction. He had ever been the constant ally of England: Wolsey therefore conceived the design of attaching him more closely to his master's interests; as, from his popularity in Scotland, his influence would crush the partisans of France. But it was necessary

to proceed with apparent moderation in an affair so critical. To soften the Queen's resentment, Angus retired quietly to his estate, and sent her a submissive and conciliatory letter: But, impatient of the event, he appeared before Edinburgh with the Earl of Lennox and Scott of Buccleuch; and, in the dead of night, having scaled the walls, entered the city. They advanced to the cross with four hundred followers, and proclaimed that they came as good subjects. A serious commotion was likely to ensue. The castle began to discharge its artillery on the city, and several individuals were slain. Angus having received a royal mandate commanding him to retire, withdrew to Dalkeith.

A series of events concurred to elevate Angus to the chief direction of affairs. The Chancellor, like a prudent statesman, perceiving the decline of the French interest, formed a union with Angus, for the purpose of preserving his power. These leaders retired to St Andrew's, and concerted the boldest measures against the Queen and the Earl of Arran, whom they accused of keeping the King in a kind of durance. Their party was strengthened by the accession of the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Prior of St Andrew's, and the Earls of Lennox and Argyll.

In consequence of a royal proclamation, threatening them with confiscation and death, for holding illegal conferences, they issued a counter-proclamation, summoning a Parliament to meet at Stirling, as it was unsafe to assemble in the capital; and they complained that the King's health was exposed to danger from the putrid exhalations of the North Loch, contiguous to the castle. The Queen, to counteract the machinations of her enemies, endeavoured to excite Arran, Eglinton, Murray, and Cassillis, the lords of her party, to levy their vassals, and, by coercive measures, to subdue their opponents: But they prudently declined, and preferred to establish concord by negotiation. The Chancellor had the address to procure the chief authority for himself and Angus; while the Queen was flattered with the nominal authority, which she did not long retain.

A.D. 1525.

Her credit with the court of England was soon after finally lost, by the detection of a clandestine correspondence with Albany, for the purpose of procuring a divorce from her husband and the disposal of benefices in Scotland. The defeat of the French at Pavia, and their consequent distractions, prevented them from giving their partisans in Scotland that assistance which their condition urgently required. The project of a perpetual peace, and of the marriage of the King of

Scots with the Princess Mary of England, was ominous of their power in Scotland. Wolsey had given way to his resentment against the Emperor of Germany, because he had not supported his pretensions to the pontifical chair. A peace between England and France was the consequence, and contributed to establish the ascendancy of the former in Scotland.

Exasperated at the decline of their influence, the Queen and Arran had recourse to the most desperate measures. The latter, being joined by several lords in arms, advanced to Linlithgow with four or five thousand men, and there waited the arrival of the former, who was advancing with the Earl of Murray from the North. To crush this rebellion, the King took the field, accompanied by Angus, Argyll, and Lennox. No sooner was the royal standard displayed, than the malecontents fled to Hamilton. The Queen only ar-
A.D. 1526. rived to join in the flight; while Murray, to purchase his pardon, went over with his followers to the King.

The Queen, who had rendered herself infamous by her insidious conduct while in authority, was now become an object of general abhorrence. Angus having consented to a divorce, which was pronounced by the Chancellor at St Andrew's, the Queen precipitately married her paramour Henry Stewart, afterwards created Lord Methven. This marriage ruined her influence. Arran, who had hitherto clung to her fortunes, abandoned her, and joined the Chancellor and Angus.

By an act of Parliament, Angus and the Archbishop of Glasgow, Arran and the Bishop of Aberdeen, Argyll and the Chancellor, Lennox and the Bishop of Dunblane, were to be in personal attendance on the King, in rotation. Of these distinguished personages, Angus most diligently cultivated the favour of the young Monarch, by presents, attentions, and every indulgence which could secure his inexperienced affections. He had the influence to procure a parliamentary ordinance which transferred the supreme power into his own hands, by declaring that the King, having attained the age of fourteen, should assume the government.

Angus was, however, raised to an enviable degree of eminence. He neglected not to aggrandize his own family; but he overlooked the Chancellor, who hoped also to share the spoils. The King was now become the prisoner of his former flatterers. The power of the house of Douglas, after being dormant nearly a century, was revived, and threatened to

overwhelm the royal power. Symptoms of discontent and jealousy began to appear. Angus, as warden of the Marches, had neglected to enforce the usages and the laws of the Borders, to gratify his avarice. The English, in consequence, made reprisals; which occasioned disorders that called for the interference of the royal authority. Angus determined to lead the King in person to repress them; but, while returning by Melrose, Walter Scott of Buccleuch suddenly appeared with a thousand armed followers. That chieftain was a retainer of Lennox, who was then in company with the King. From subsequent events, it seems probable that Scott's design was to deliver the King from the power of Angus. A short but sanguinary conflict confirmed that power: But Lennox immediately after retired from court, to prepare for a decisive effort to rescue his Sovereign.

Irritated by the diminution of his authority and importance, the Chancellor prevailed upon the King to write letters to his mother, Lennox, and other lords of their party, complaining of the restraints which Angus imposed upon him.

To the vassals of Lennox, were added the Queen and the Chancellor's friends from the Northern counties. Their united forces amounted to ten thousand. With this body, Lennox marched to Linlithgow; where an equal number of Angus's adherents, under Arran, awaited their approach. An unsuccessful attempt was made to reconcile Arran to Lennox, his nephew. A messenger was despatched to Angus at Edinburgh, who compelled the King to advance against his own friends. James, pretending indisposition, did every thing in his power to occasion delay. Angus, impatient, hurried forward, leaving the King in charge of his brother Sir George; who, irritated at the delay, burst into a violent passion, and exclaimed, "Sir, should our enemies vanquish us, rather than surrender your person, we will tear you in pieces."

Upon the approach of Angus, the shout of "a Douglas!" arose in his army. Inspired with ardour by the presence of their chief, they attacked and routed the troops of Lennox, who was slain. The King, alarmed for that nobleman's safety, despatched Sir Andrew Wood with instructions to Arran. When he arrived at the field of battle, he was conducted to the Earl, whom he found resting, and weeping over the slain Lennox. "Alas!" said the mourner, "the best, the wisest, the bravest man in Scotland has fallen!" Angus availed himself of his advantage, and advanced to

Stirling, to seize the Queen and the Chancellor; but they had fled.

A Parliament met soon after, and passed an act of indemnity in favour of all who had been engaged in the late conflict against Lennox. His estates, and those of his confederates, were forfeited, and divided between Angus and Arran. The wily Chancellor, by affected submissions and presents, made his peace with Angus.

Meantime, the authority of Douglas being paramount to the laws, the country became a prey to injustice and rapine. A nobleman was murdered at the door of St Giles's church; yet his murderer appeared unmolested in Edinburgh during the session of Parliament. The most lucrative and honourable offices were monopolized by the house of Angus. His uncle was appointed lord treasurer, his brother master of the royal household, and he himself assumed the chancellorship.

The Borderers having resumed their predatory habits, which were loudly complained of by the English, the vassals of Angus and Arran were marched to Edinburgh, to attend the King in a progress of justice against the marauders. While the followers of Douglas and Hamilton were mustered to the number of two thousand, in front of the palace of Holyroodhouse, a groom of the late Earl of Lennox had penetrated to the spot, and, following Sir James Hamilton by a private staircase, he gave him several severe wounds, and returned unperceived among the populace. To this atrocious deed he had been instigated by revenge; Sir James having slain Lennox, in the late battle, after he had yielded.

An alarm was instantly raised; the Douglases and Hamiltons, suspecting treachery, were on the point of turning their swords against each other. The assassin was discovered; and when put to the torture, he confessed, and gloried in his crime. When his right hand was cut off, he smiled, and said, it deserved its fate, for executing so ill his intended revenge.

A.D. 1527.

The King proceeded to Jedburgh, and redressed the Border grievances. The Armstrongs, in particular, had enriched themselves by plundering the English; but they were compelled to give pledges for their future peaceable conduct.

James evinced great impatience under the power of the Douglases. He disdained to be kept a prisoner in his own palace, to be treated with disrespect, and stripped of all his power. Angus, aware of his danger, resolved to secure the King's person, as he could not gain his confidence; and

therefore surrounded him with spies. In vain did the Queen exert herself to shake his authority: What they could not effect by force, they accomplished by stratagem; a plot was contrived for his escape.

The Queen resided in Stirling castle, the only fortress in the kingdom which had escaped the power of Douglas. James secretly acquired possession of this place for a compensation, and gave the command to a trusty servant. For some time, the King had been residing at Falkland. Seizing the opportunity of Angus's absence, the Monarch, disguised as a groom, escaped in the night from his guards, and, accompanied only by two servants, arrived before morning at Stirling.

His court was soon filled with persons of the greatest distinction; while Angus, indignant at the escape of his prey, hastened to Stirling. A herald met him by the way, and commanded him, on pain of treason, not to come within six miles of the King's residence. His resolution was shaken, and he judged it prudent to submit. In a Parliament which assembled soon after, Douglas and his adherents were attainted. After escaping many dangers, and enduring great misery, the unfortunate Angus fled to England, where A.D. 1528. he and his brother Sir George resided during the remainder of this reign. They revisited Scotland in the second year of Mary's minority; but their power was no longer dangerous to the royal authority or the liberty of the nation.

CHAPTER X.

Character of James—policy of his government. Proceedings against the house of Douglas. Singular incident. The Borderers punished. The College of Justice instituted. Ecclesiastical affairs. A Parliament. The King's marriages. Execution of Lord Forbes and Lady Glammis. Beaton's cruelty. James visits the Western Islands. State of religion. Hostilities with England. King's death.

James was now in his seventeenth year, and enjoyed not only the name but the full authority of king. His person was graceful and his mind vigorous; but his education had been neglected,—a misfortune common to royal minors. In his character may be discovered the features of a great but uncultivated spirit: His passions were violent, his resentment was implacable, his desire of power immoderate; but he possessed an ardent love of his people; he was zealous and prompt in punishing private oppression; his affability to the poor was so remarkable, that he received from

his grateful subjects the honourable appellation of *the King of the poor*. He had a capacity for government, and had studied the laws of his country with such assiduity, that he frequently pronounced sentence on horseback during a journey, and with great impartiality. His constitution enabled him to endure fatigue and the inclemenciesof the seasons.

The faults of his government may be traced to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. The frugality in which he had been trained during his minority, degenerated into avarice; yet he expended his revenue in the execution of magnificent architectural works, in the construction of a navy, and similar plans of national utility.

His political designs were subservient to one end—the humiliation of the aristocracy. The harsh and impolitic restraints he himself had endured from them during his minority—their usurpations of his power and revenue—generated a permanent enmity in his mind against their order. But he had learned from the history of his ancestors, that the firm spirit of the feudal nobles was not to be restrained by laws alone, which operate slowly on a rude people; that the aggrandisement or depression of a few noble families would produce no permanent accession of strength to the Crown; and that the elevation of persons of mean birth to the ministry was both dangerous and dishonourable to a prince.

James had therefore recourse to a new and successful expedient to counterbalance the power of the nobility. He applied himself to the dignified clergy, who depended entirely on the Crown, and possessed great authority over the minds of the people. Between the clergy and the nobles, various causes of disgust existed. The latter despised the ecclesiastical character, and they envied the wealth and influence of the church. The clergy, on the other hand, were men of cultivated minds, and experienced in the art of commanding popular reverence. To this order the King therefore applied, hoping that an identity of interests would lead them to act in concert with him. Nor was he disappointed: They readily entered into his views, served him with fidelity, and carried on his measures with vigour, reputation, and success. These preliminary remarks will serve to elucidate the policy of James in the subsequent part of his reign.

Upon assuming the royal authority, James appointed his preceptor, Gawin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, to be chancellor of the kingdom. The fortifications of Edinburgh and Stirling castles were ordered to be repaired, and the royal magazines to be filled with arms and ammunition. A

jury of six ecclesiastics and five peers pronounced sentence of forfeiture against Douglas; but his jury were his personal enemies, and shared the plunder of his estates. James himself was so exasperated at the Earl of Angus for contravening the seizure of his property, that he solemnly swore he would never allow him to return to Scotland; and notwithstanding the repeated intercessions of Henry, he adhered to his vow with unrelenting obstinacy.

As the peace with England was nearly expired, negotiations were opened for its renewal. A truce for five years was concluded and ratified by Henry and James.

The manners of the times are illustrated by the following singular incident. The King, accompanied by his mother and the Papal ambassador, were invited to Atholl to enjoy the pleasures of the chase; which was the King's favourite amusement. A palace was constructed, for their reception, of green wood, intwined with verdant branches of birch. The fabric was quadrangular, with lofty turrets, drawbridge, and portcullis; and it was surrounded by a ditch. The floor was strewed with flowers and blossoms of a fragrant odour, and the walls were covered with silken tapestry. There the Earl of Atholl entertained his guests for three days, with the most delicate and savoury viands and the choicest wines. The expense was computed at three thousand pounds. After taking leave of their noble host, the nuncio was astonished, upon looking back, to behold the edifice enveloped in flames. The King said, with a smile, "It is the custom of our Highlanders to burn their temporary lodgings."

The police of the kingdom was at this time in a miserable state. So common had wilful fire-raising become, that the Parliament denounced the penalty of treason against such as should be convicted of this crime. The temerity of the Border marauders called loudly for a salutary chastisement. The lords and gentlemen who were suspected of abetting these disorders, suffered a temporary imprisonment. A more severe punishment awaited the marauders themselves: Forty-eight of the most criminal were seized and hanged. The Armstrongs had long been notorious for their atrocious ravages. They had destroyed, in the course of a few years, no fewer than fifty-two parish-churches. John Armstrong, the chief of that name, who had attained wealth and power by robbery, was betrayed by his brother, and suffered the punishment of a felon.

A.D. 1529.

One of the most beneficial acts of this reign was the remodelling, or more properly the institution of the College

of Justice. In the reign of James the First, the prototype of this court had been instituted: It consisted of standing committees selected from the three Parliamentary Estates, and who made an annual circuit through the kingdom. Many inconveniencies attended this plan: The members had to bear their travelling charges; their decisions were frequently precipitately given; and the representatives of the commons being annually changed, there was also a change of judges, who required to be reinstructed in the whole procedure, and this occasioned heavy complaints through the law's delay.

A Parliament assembled, which digested a more eligible plan for the administration of justice. The number of judges was to be fifteen; eight of whom, including the president, A.D. 1532. were to be clergymen, and seven laymen; to whom was committed the power of deciding all civil causes. The expenses of this court were ordered to be defrayed from the revenues of the clergy; who strenuously opposed this taxation, and subsequently appealed to the Pope.

Angus and his brother Sir George Douglas continued to annoy the frontier counties, by their incursions and outrages. Henry encouraged these disorders, by settling an annuity of one thousand pounds on the Earl for his services against his country. The Scots were prompt and vigorous in repelling the invaders. James appointed the Earl of Murray lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Murray ordered that each quarter of the kingdom should detach successively a band of soldiers to the Borders, to remain there for forty days, and assail the English frontiers with unceasing devastation. To prevent an open declaration of war between the kingdoms, the French Monarch interposed his good offices. A truce A.D. 1534. for one year was first concluded; which led to the ratification of a treaty of peace during the lives of the Monarchs.

Henry of England, eager in prosecuting his divorce from Catharine of Arragon, was about to emancipate his kingdom from the authority of Rome. His hostility to the Pontiff gave a new impulse to the doctrines which agitated all Europe. A conference was held between the Pope and the Emperor, to oppose or punish Henry's defection. The aid of Scotland in this design escaped not the sagacity of his Holiness; who sent an ambassador to James, with a gewgaw consecrated sword and helmet. He was given to understand that the most acceptable return would be to use the sword in reclaiming the English heretic: But though James had declared in Parliament that he would

continue to worship at the altars of his fathers, and enforce the laws against heresy, he had the prudence to avoid a quarrel with his uncle.

Henry's reformation of religion was of a singular kind. He disowned the Pope's supremacy, that himself might supplant him in that honour. He persecuted Papists and Lutherans indiscriminately; and while he suppressed the monasteries, he appropriated to his own use a considerable share of the plunder. Yet he judged it expedient to secure the friendship of James, who might be tempted to thwart his measures, or avail himself of the prevailing disaffection among the English Catholics to aspire to the crown.

Dr William Barlow, Henry's chaplain, was therefore despatched as his envoy to Scotland, to ascertain the views of the Scots in regard to religion, and to display his eloquence in the pulpit in favour of the new doctrine, should he be permitted. His reception was very inauspicious. James's ministers consisted of the Romish clergy; whom Barlow represented "as the Pope's pestilent creatures, and very limbs of the Devil." The English Monarch next proposed a meeting between himself and the King of Scots. It was at first suggested that the conference should be held in France, and in presence of the French King; but the critical state of English affairs rendered such a step ineligible. A conference at York was next proposed; which the Queen mother eagerly advised. The Hamiltons opposed the conference, as they dreaded that the King might be induced to wed Henry's daughter, and thus destroy their hopes of obtaining the crown. The clergy, alarmed lest their prince should be infected with the heretical opinions, represented the danger of his leaving the kingdom; and flattered his pride by extolling his piety in adhering to the religion of his ancestors. Compliance with Henry's request was therefore evaded or delayed.

A. D. 1535. A Parliament was held at Edinburgh, which confirmed several salutary statutes for repressing the Borderers, improving the breed of horses, and regulating the fishery in the Western seas. The preamble to these enactments is remarkable,—"It is unprofitable to make laws and statutes for policy, except they be observed;" and evinces, that in the course of a century, little or no progress had been made in civilization. One new law merits attention, from the appeal to it in modern times. Many peers and landed gentlemen had procured themselves to be elected as magistrates of boroughs, and had dilapidated their revenues under

pretence of protecting them. To remedy this evil, it was ordained that the magistrates should be thenceforth chosen solely from among the burgesses and merchants; and that they should annually produce their accounts at the exchequer, after a public notice of fifteen days, that the burgesses might have an opportunity of examining their accuracy.

A. D. 1537. In compliance with the wishes of the people, James went over to France, and married Magdalene, daughter of Francis. The bride's portion was a hundred thousand crowns of the sun, and an annual pension of thirty thousand livres. The perpetual alliance between Scotland and France was then renewed. Within forty days after her arrival in Scotland, the lovely bride was consumed by a hectic fever; which deeply affected her husband and the whole nation. As soon as decency permitted, an embassy was sent to France, to select another partner for the royal widower; and Mary of Guise, the widow of the Duke of Longueville, arrived soon after in Scotland, and was married to James at St Andrew's.

Two treasonable plots were detected and punished about this time. John, the eldest son of Lord Forbes, was accused of treason by the Earl of Huntly, and tried by Argyll, the chief justice, with a jury of fifteen. He was condemned and executed. The other case was that of Lady Glammis, a widow, and the sister of the Earl of Angus. Besides this lady, her husband and son, a relation, and an aged priest, were indicted for a design against the King's life by poison and witchcraft, with the view of restoring the house of Angus.

The noble lady was burned to death on the Castlehill of Edinburgh. With a fortitude that confounded her enemies, she suffered that cruel and unjust punishment. Her son, in endeavouring to escape, was dashed to pieces on the rocks below the castle. James has been accused of injustice as well as cruelty in this affair; but his accusers were his religious and political enemies. Several other persons of rank were imprisoned upon suspicion; but they were afterwards liberated.

David Beaton, bishop of Arbroath, was appointed to the see of Mirepoix, in France; and, by the influence of Francis, was raised to the dignity of cardinal. His ambition increased with his elevation. Discontented with the reversion of the see of St Andrew's, in which he was to succeed his uncle, he aspired also to the dignity of legate for Scotland. To recommend himself to the Pontiff, he instigated the Scottish clergy to persecute heretics with unrelenting severity.

Five persons suffered at the stake on the Castlehill, Edinburgh, and two at Glasgow. The celebrated Buchanan was imprisoned; but he escaped.

James was not inattentive to his own interests while he evinced his firm adherence to the church of Rome. He appointed his natural sons to lucrative situations in the church; whereby he became entitled to draw the revenues of those benefices during the nonage of their nominal incumbents.

A. D. 1540. One of the most remarkable and beneficial events of James's reign, was his voyage to the Orkney and Western Islands. He had some time before made a progress of justice into the Northern counties, for correcting the negligence of magistrates and enforcing submission to the laws. But he had long meditated a more extensive circuit. The Northern extremities of his kingdom were ignorant of the laws and of his power to enforce them. He determined to visit them in person, attended by a force sufficient to chastise the insolent chiefs, and to impress their vassals with reverence for the authority of magistrates.

For this expedition, twelve ships were equipped, supplied with artillery, ammunition, and provisions; and had on board a military force of two thousand men. The fleet, with the King and his court on board, sailed from the Frith of Forth round Scotland. The barbarous clans of the North and the lawless Islanders were awed into submission. Many of their chieftains were constrained to accompany the King, and detained as hostages for the quiet submission of their lieges. So effectual was this policy, that there was hardly a conflict of the clans till the reign of James the Sixth.

The doctrines of the Reformers were meanwhile making proselytes in Scotland. These were chiefly of the younger class. The majority of the nobility and the people were secretly but decidedly inclined to a reformation in the church. Even James himself seemed to admit the necessity of such a measure; as appears by the following singular incident. A play had been performed at Linlithgow before the King, the Queen, and the whole court, which indirectly inculcated the necessity of an ecclesiastical reform. At the conclusion of the exhibition, James addressed himself to the Chancellor and the bishops present, desiring them to promote so salutary a design, else he would send six of the proudest of them to Henry; and as they were instructed, so should their fellows be.

But Cardinal Beaton was not inclined to concur in the wishes of his Sovereign. He prevailed upon the Parliament

to pass several severe statutes, to bend the minds of the people to submission. Private conventicles or conferences on religion were forbidden; suspected heretics were declared ineligible to any office or privilege; and disobedience to the Pontiff's authority was death. Many Scottish gentlemen fled to England, that they might enjoy the privilege of reading the Scriptures in their vernacular tongue without exposure to the flames.

A.D. 1541. About this time, died Margaret of England, the Queen mother. She was interred in the tomb of James the First, in the church of the Carthusians at Perth. But the nation had to deplore a more calamitous event,—the death of the King's two infant sons. James and his Queen, to divert their grief, honoured the University of Aberdeen with a visit. There they were entertained by the professors and the students with dramatic exhibitions, literary disputations, and orations in the learned languages; which excited the highest encomiums of the royal visitors.

The bold and resolute conduct of Henry, in throwing off the Papal yoke, enraged the Pontiff; who instigated the Emperor of Germany, the Kings of France and Scotland, to meditate his overthrow. Cardinal Beaton proceeded to the Continent, to receive the Pope's instructions for his master. Henry despatched Sadler into Scotland during the Cardinal's absence, to expose the designs of the Pontiff, and to vindicate his own character from the slanderous imputations that had been propagated against him. To efface every unfavourable impression, and to confirm the pacific relations between the kingdoms, Henry requested an interview with his nephew at York. James returned an ambiguous answer, that as soon as circumstances permitted, he would meet him in England.

Alarmed lest their Monarch should be infected with Henry's opinions, the Scottish clergy again dissuaded James from meeting his uncle; who was so exasperated by the disappointment, that he declared war against Scotland. A futile negotiation was proposed by James; which was abandoned. Surrey Earl of Norfolk entered Scotland with an army of thirty thousand, and burned many villages, besides the towns of Kelso and Roxburgh. A Scottish army of ten thousand watched the enemy's movements and surprised their detachments. After an incursion of eight days, the want of provisions compelled the English to retire.

James had advanced as far as the Lammermuir Hills, with an army of thirty thousand, when he received the news of

the enemy's retreat. The opportunity he considered favourable for transferring the war into England; but the principal barons, with a disdain which aggravated their disobedience, refused to advance beyond the frontiers. Stung with resentment, and dreading a repetition of the scene at Lauder bridge in the reign of his grandfather, he dismissed his army, and returned home.

To sooth his agitated spirit, the council proposed to levy a small army of ten thousand, under the command of Lord Maxwell, to invade England by the Western Marches. When this army had advanced beyond the frontiers, Oliver Sinclair, a royal favourite, produced the King's commission, appointing him general; and he assumed the command. An universal murmur ensued; which was quickly changed into disorder, tumult, and uproar.

Dacre and Musgrave, two English commanders, who had advanced with a few hundred men to observe the motions of the enemy, perceiving their dissentions, charged their scattered battalions, and put them to an inglorious flight. A thousand prisoners were taken; among whom were many nobles and gentlemen. James had advanced to the castle of Carlaverock when he received the fatal news. Impatience, resentment, and grief, so distracted his mind, that he became pensive and sullen. He shunned the society of mankind in the retirement of Falkland; and died soon after, of a broken heart, in the thirty-first year of his age.

A.D. 1542.

Had James survived this misfortune, one of two things must have happened,—he would openly have attacked the refractory nobles, and thus excited a dangerous civil war; or he would have been compelled to sacrifice the church to promote their union. In the latter case, a reformation, after the example of England, would have been established by law, and the property of the church transferred to the aristocracy to secure their fidelity.

James left only one legitimate child, Mary, who was born a few days before his death. He was the author of a humorous composition in verse, known by the name of "the Gaberlunzieman."

BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

Sketch of the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland prior to the Reformation—the causes of that event—the means by which it was effected.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century, a spirit of religious inquiry was diffused among all classes of men through the greater part of Europe, and produced a revolution in the sentiments of mankind, the greatest and most beneficial that is recorded in history. That surprising event, called, by way of eminence, the Reformation, produced an influence eminently and exclusively beneficial on the state of society in general, and on the interests of virtue, religion, and liberty. The effects of the change which it produced in religion, continue to be felt at the present day. The human mind, which had long continued tame and passive, believing whatever was sanctioned by clerical authority, and bearing whatever was imposed, was suddenly roused, and became inquisitive, mutinous, and disdainful of the yoke under which it had groaned. The Reformation was begun by the Elector of Saxony, at the solicitation of Luther.

The seeds of the Reformation were very early sown in Scotland, by several noblemen of that nation, who had resided on the Continent during the religious disputes that divided the German empire. In Scotland, the same ardent love of liberty that appeared in Germany was elicited by the Reformation, and attended its progress. A spirit of general inquiry and independence was awakened, which rendered men attentive to their privileges as subjects, and jealous of the encroachments of their rulers.

But it may not be unacceptable to present the juvenile reader with an outline of the ecclesiastical history of Scotland prior to the Reformation, before detailing the political effects of that great concussion.

The ecclesiastical history of Scotland during remote ages is involved in impenetrable obscurity; it is therefore impossible to ascertain the precise period when the Christian religion was introduced. About the end of the second century, Marcus and Dionysius, as tradition reports, preached the gospel in the remote parts of Britain; and probably many Christians, to avoid the severity of the imperial edicts against

their religion, fled into the inaccessible wilds of Caledonia, into which the arms of Rome had in vain attempted to penetrate. It is conjectured that Christianity was professed by a few scattered individuals until the sixth century; when Columba, a native of Ireland, after founding many seminaries of learning in that island, arrived in Scotland, with twelve companions, prompted by zeal for the propagation of the gospel. Having converted the Northern Picts, he received from Brudi, their king, the island of Iona, for the purpose of erecting a monastery upon it. There he almost constantly resided, till the year 597, when he died.

Columba was much devoted to the study of the Bible; and taught his disciples to believe those things only which are contained in the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles. His followers sent missionaries into England and Wales; where many embraced their doctrines and became subject to their discipline. The Culdees, as they were named, established religious schools at Abernethy, about the year 600. Similar schools were subsequently erected at Dunkeld, St Andrew's, Dunblane, Brechin, Dunfermline, Scone, Kirkcaldy, Monymusk, Culross, and Melrose.

The Pictish princes were disposed to make Dunkeld a second Iona long before it became an Episcopal see, chiefly on account of the desolation of the sacred isle by the invasion of the Scandinavians. Hence the Abbot of Dunkeld was called *Primate of Pictland*. About the beginning of the ninth century, the Culdees had a foundation at St Andrew's. They were settled at Brechin before it was made a bishopric; and there is some evidence of their establishment at Dunblane about the year 1000.

In each regular establishment of the Culdees, there were twelve brethren, with one who presided over them. They lived according to a certain institute, which it is said was composed by their venerable instructor. But this they reckoned necessary only for the preservation of order; for the Culdean fraternities were more properly colleges than monasteries; being in fact the seminaries of the church both in North Britain and Ireland. Their ecclesiastical government has been viewed as substantially the same with the Presbyterian; for their president or abbot was not a bishop, but a presbyter,—to whose authority even the bishops of the district were subject. According to the Saxon Chronicle, there was always an abbot at Iona, but no bishop. To the fraternity collectively belonged the charge of educating candidates for the ministry; from them they received ordina-

tion, and to them they were amenable in the discharge of their office.

It is a remarkable fact, that those who were first acknowledged as bishops in the Northern parts of England, and were instrumental in the introduction of Christianity there, were trained up at Iona, and received all their authority from the council of seniors in that island; and for some time they acknowledged subjection to the ecclesiastical government of the Culdees, whose influence declined merely because their missionaries chose rather to resign their charges than to submit to the prevailing influence of the church of Rome.

At what time the church of Rome first extended its influence to Scotland, it is difficult to ascertain. Palladius, the Popish missionary, introduced the order of bishops. Tradition reports that he resided and exercised his clerical functions in the district that now composes Kincardineshire. The spot of his sepulture is commemorated by the ruins of a chapel which bears his name. It is situate about six miles west of Stonehaven, in a deep glen environed on all sides but the south by high mountains.

The arrival of Popish emissaries was not favourably regarded by the Culdees; who even refused to hold communion with them, and long contended against the heresies and usurpations of the church of Rome. An attempt was made at Iona, so early as the beginning of the eighth century, to effect a partial conformity between the Culdees and the Romish church; but they continued firm in their adherence to the tenets and practices of their predecessors, although they were repeatedly subjected to persecution and banishment. It was not till the twelfth century that their influence began to decline. There are no accounts of them as a distinct body later than the thirteenth century, about which time the Culdees of St Andrew's became subject to the bishop. It is remarkable, that during the last year the Culdees are mentioned in history, the Lollards of England made proselytes in Scotland, and their opinions could not afterwards be eradicated; hence the light of truth, though it burned dimly until the republication of the Scriptures, continued to direct the perilous steps of its champions, who ceased not to oppose the doctrines and practices of the Romish church.

After the arrival of Palladius in Scotland, the authority of the Pope, as the head of the church, was gradually recognized: The religious doubts and controversies of the Scots were submitted to his judgment and decision; and the vene-

ration with which his authority was received, prepared them for that humiliating subjection which was so rapidly extending over the Western nations of Europe. But this abject submission was not in Scotland the work of one age; both the ecclesiastics and the nobles long considered their subjection to the Pontiff as voluntary, and they resolutely asserted their right of judging for themselves. Even the clergy united with the civil power in resisting Papal oppression, when the national independence was threatened.

It was the policy of the Popish clergy, whose influence and aggrandizement increased as ignorance and error prevailed, to extinguish, as far as possible, the illumination of the Holy Scriptures, and to substitute the most absurd and impious doctrines, that their impostures might command the most implicit belief; and, to rivet the fetters of superstition, the most appalling threatenings were denounced against those who presumed to disobey their mandates. Superstition and imposture had gained a greater ascendancy over the rude and ignorant Scots than in any other nation in Europe; by which means, the clergy attained to an exorbitant degree of opulence and power, which necessarily corrupted their order, and debased the whole system of their religion.

About the year 1000, an opinion was diffused over Christendom, and sanctioned by the Popes, that the day of judgment was at hand. The terror of this event induced the rich to make liberal donations to the church of their lands, which they believed they could not long retain. When more than a century had elapsed, and the frame of nature remained undissolved, mankind did not recover from their ignorance and superstition; but the Catholic priesthood had by that time become a powerful and wealthy incorporation. Riches in their hands were employed to perpetuate the superstition of the people, by erecting structures of prodigious magnitude, to impress irresistible veneration and awe upon the minds of men in all succeeding generations. In the twelfth century, many of the magnificent cathedrals and churches, the ruins of which excite admiration, were built and established.

The Scottish kings early demonstrated the undue influence the clergy had acquired over them, by the vast additions which they made to their immunities and riches. The profuse piety of David the First transferred almost the whole crown lands to the church. The clergy were daily loaded with new possessions, until they became so powerful that they paid the full half of the national taxes. Their influence procured the erection of magnificent temples, and their opu-

lence furnished them with showy apparatus for worship, which fascinated the senses and imposed on the imaginations of the people. Those nurseries of superstition and indolence universally degenerated, and became the notorious haunts of lewdness and debauchery. Exempted from secular jurisdiction, and corrupted by wealth and idleness, the immoralities of the clergy were become a scandal to religion and an outrage on decency. Though nominally separated from the world by the law of celibacy, the clergy of all ranks were shamefully profligate; the bishops openly kept their harlots, provided their sons with benefices, and married their daughters to the sons of the nobility and gentry.

The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as their morals were dissolute. Until the reformed doctrines had made some progress, neither Greek nor Hebrew was taught in any seminary in Scotland. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they never read any part of the sacred Scriptures, except what they found in their missals. So ignorant were the clergy on the Continent, that they publicly accused Luther of composing a wicked book called the "New Testament," and inventing two new languages, the Greek and the Hebrew.

Long after the Greek language had been enthusiastically studied on the Continent and in England, it continued to be almost unknown in Scotland. Individual Scotsmen acquired the knowledge of it abroad; but the first attempts to teach it in this country were of a private nature, as an avowal of its utility was deemed equivalent to heresy. In the year 1534, John Erskine of Dun, on returning from his travels, brought with him a Frenchman skilled in the Greek language, whom he settled in Montrose. From this private seminary many Greek scholars proceeded; and the knowledge of that elegant and useful language was gradually diffused over the kingdom.

In the South of Europe, the revival of letters preceded the reformation of religion and accelerated its progress: But in the North, this order was reversed; and Scotland in particular must date the origin of her literary acquirements from the first introduction of the Protestant opinions. The Hebrew language was not taught in Scotland till after the establishment of the Protestant church. The first teacher of Hebrew was John Row, one of the Protestant preachers; who began to give lessons in the Hebrew language at Perth to young clergymen placed under his care.

The harangues delivered for sermons by the monks were

ludicrous and contemptible: They consisted of legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his sanctity, the miracles that he performed, his watchings and combats with the Devil, the virtues of charms, holy water, and the horrors of purgatory.

For many centuries before the Reformation, the necessity of an ecclesiastical reform was generally admitted by the Catholics themselves. In the thirteenth century, the preaching friars were instituted, with the view of restoring that duty so generally neglected by the superior clergy, and of opposing the popular preaching of the Lollards, as the Jesuits were afterwards founded to oppose learning to the Protestants.

Waldus in the twelfth, Wickliff in the fourteenth, and Huss in the fifteenth century, inveighed with great boldness against the errors of Popery. Their success in confuting these was complete; but, being persecuted, their followers were not numerous. The long and scandalous schism which divided the Romish church during the latter part of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, greatly diminished the popular veneration for the Papal dignity.

In Scotland, at the end of James the Fifth's reign, the same contempt for the clerical authority and indifference to religion were universal. Few attended mass on Sundays, much less on other occasions; and, of those who attended, some scoffed and behaved irreverently, while others busied themselves in merchandise even at the church-porch.

While it is admitted that such a state of things could not well be contemplated without an eager and violent desire for reformation, it should not be forgotten that the hand of an overruling Providence was conspicuous in the combination and concurrence of circumstances, in raising up and qualifying zealous and resolute champions to bear witness to the truth, and suffer for its sake.

The most efficient cause was the translation of the Scriptures in the vernacular languages. By means of the art of printing, invented a short time before the Reformation, copies of the Scriptures were multiplied; and, notwithstanding the clergy interdicted the perusal of the sacred volume, it was procured and read with great avidity. To the instruction derived from the Scriptures, and not to any injury offered to his order, must be ascribed the vigorous and unwearied exertions of Luther in exposing and combating the abominations of Rome. He was an Austin friar, and professor of Divinity in the University of Wurtemburg. He ac-

cidentally discovered a Latin Bible, after he had spent a year in the convent of his order. Before that fortunate event, he was ignorant of the existence of any inspired writings, except the passages inserted in the Breviary and the offices of the church. Delighted with the sacred volume, he studied it with unwearied attention, and propagated his opinions by writing sermons and conferences. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, was in a little time filled with the voice of this bold Reformer. He soon acquired the decided support of many of the German princes; who protected him from the vindictive policy of Rome and from the violence of imperial persecution.

A. D. 1516. Before the name of Luther was known in Switzerland, Ulric Zuingle had begun to explain the Scriptures to the people, and to censure the errors of the Romish church. His ideas were noble and extensive; and he had actually called in question the supremacy of the Pontiff, before Luther ventured to attack any corruption except the sale of indulgences.

To prevent the dissemination of Scriptural knowledge, the Catholic clergy employed every artifice and expedient: But their vigilance was unavailing. By means of the English merchants who traded to the Continent, the Scots procured Tindall's translation of the Scriptures, with many Protestant books. The utmost circumspection in perusing them was indispensable; one copy of the Bible or of the New Testament supplied several families.

The midnight hour was chosen for perusing the sacred oracles. When the trembling auditors were assembled, the Bible was brought from its concealment; and, while one read, the rest listened with mute attention. Before the year 1500, Murdoc Nisbet,—who, with many respectable families in the South-west of Scotland, had embraced the opinions of Wickliff,—being driven from his native country, procured a copy of the New Testament of Wickliff's translation; which, on his return, he concealed in a vault, and read to his family and friends during the night. Gordon of Earlston, a Wickliffite, procured a copy of the New Testament in the vulgar language; which was read at meetings held in a wood near Earlston House. In this manner was knowledge diffused, at a period when there appears not to have been any public teacher of the truth in Scotland.

Patrick Hamilton, a youth of royal lineage, was the first Scotsman who avowed the Reformed doctrines. Having been created abbot of Ferne, he was sent abroad for his edu-

cation, became acquainted with some of the Reformers, and imbibed their doctrines. Upon his return home, his zeal for truth made it impossible for him to conceal his sentiments; and he unwarily fell into a snare laid for him by Campbell, prior of the Dominicans; who, having insinuated himself into his confidence, decoyed him to St Andrew's; where he was accused of heresy, and thrown into prison.

He was soon after brought to trial: But though he defended his principles with meekness and simplicity, little attention was paid to him, and he was condemned to the flames for his errors; and to aggravate the cruelty of his sentence, he was led forth to the stake on the same day on which he had been condemned. Effects directly reverse from those that had been expected, resulted from Hamilton's martyrdom: Many of the learned as well as of the common people scrutinized his opinions, and were secretly convinced of their truth. Before Hamilton's appearance, the errors and corruptions of Popery had been detected by many who were ready to coöperate with him in his measures of reform. The opinions of Wickliff contributed greatly to predispose the minds of men to the Protestant doctrines, and had a powerful and extensive influence on the Reformation. The existence of the Lollards in Ayrshire from the time of Wickliff to the days of George Wishart, can be distinctly traced. At the period of Hamilton's martyrdom, they were so numerous in Fife, that they formed the design of rescuing him by force on the day of his execution. From 1530 to 1540, ten persons * suffered death for confessing Hamilton's sentiments, and numbers fled to England and the Continent. During the same period, the Earls of Glencairn and Errol, the Lords Ruthven and Kilmaurs, Sir David Lindsay, Sir James Sandilands, and a multitude of other persons of respectability, made open profession of the Reformed faith. They narrowly escaped persecution and death; for their names were put into a list of prescription by the clergy, and more than one earnest application was made to James the Fifth for a warrant to cut them off.

A. D. 1528.

But though James was incensed against the nobility, and employed the ecclesiastics to depress them, he was averse to a persecuting spirit. When, upon his return from his voyage to the Islands, the clergy presented to him a list of Protest-

* While the priests were deliberating on the most eligible place for burning Forrest, one of these, a bystander, advised them to burn him in a cellar, as the smoke of Hamilton had infected all on whom it blew.

ant chiefs, he dismissed them with this severe reprimand,—"Pack, ye jugglers! Get ye to your charges, and reform your own lives; or I vow to God, I shall reform you—not as the King of Denmark, by imprisonment—nor as he of England, by beheading and hanging—but yet by a more severe punishment, if ever such a motion proceed from you again." Yet there is reason to believe that the clergy would have been ultimately successful, had it not been for the disaster which suddenly put an end to the life of that unhappy Monarch.

Although, at that period, the prospect of overturning the established church was distant and uncertain, and could not induce the nobility to risk their lives to gratify their avarice, it must be admitted, that they soon began to cast a wistful eye on the church revenues and possessions; and they hoped, if a reformation took place after the example of England, to enrich themselves by the plunder of the ecclesiastics. Besides the immoralities of their order, the nobles had other grounds of dispute with the clergy. After James the Fifth had invested Beaton and other prelates with the chief authority as his ministers, in order to depress the power of the barons, the latter, disgusted at the pride and arrogance of these churchmen, for depriving them of those honours and emoluments to which they conceived themselves entitled by hereditary right, were disposed to avail themselves of the first opportunity of revenge. And as the Reformers inculcated subordination to the civil power, and declaimed against the ambitious prelates, who had associated functions so incompatible with the simplicity and self-denial of the clerical character, the nobles were favourably inclined to the new opinions, from political considerations.

Yet however auspicious the countenance of the aristocracy was to the Reformers, it would have availed them little, but for an event that happened during the regency of the Earl of Arran. Lord Maxwell proposed, in Parliament, that the people should be permitted to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; and that no heretical guilt should be inferred against any one for having the sacred writings in his possession, or interpreting them according to his own judgment. The Archbishop of Glasgow, in name of the clergy, was the only opposer of this measure; but his protestation was disregarded. The bill of Lord Maxwell received the approbation of Parliament; and the Regent made it generally known by proclamation. From that time, copies of the Bible were imported from England in great numbers; and men, allured by

curiosity as well as by truth, were proud to recover from their supine ignorance, in which they had been kept by an artful priesthood. To read the Scriptures became a common and creditable accomplishment: Books were multiplied in every quarter; which displayed the pride, the tyranny, and the superstition of the Romish clergy and worship.

In John Knox, the Reformers acquired an active and powerful auxiliary. Possessed of a natural intrepidity of mind which set him above all fear, with extensive views and uncommon literary acquirements, his preaching was attended with the success that accompanies a bold and popular eloquence. Instead of amusing himself with lopping off the branches of Poperty, he struck directly at the root, and attacked both the doctrine and the discipline of the established church with unreserved freedom and peculiar vehemence; but in a manner admirably suited to the temper and wishes of the nation.

A.D. 1540. When Knox embraced the Reformed doctrines, he wanted neither associates nor guides to confirm him in his career: The most eminent of whom was George Wishart, who had formerly been driven into exile by Cardinal Beaton, for teaching the Greek New Testament at Montrose, and was earning that crown of martyrdom which he soon afwards received, by a course of zealous preaching through the different counties of Scotland.

The great revolution in England which followed upon the death of Henry the Eighth, contributed to demolish the Popish church in Scotland. Henry had loosened the chains of Popery; but the ministers of his son Edward the Sixth cast them off altogether. The influence of this example reached Scotland; and the happy effects of religious liberty in one country inspired the inhabitants of the other with an equal desire of recovering it.

The ambition of the house of Guise, and the bigotry of Mary of England, hastened the subversion of the Papal power in Scotland. By a singular disposition of Providence, those persons who opposed the Reformation in every other part of the North of Europe with the most intemperate zeal, were unconsciously advancing it in that kingdom. Many of the persecuted Protestants fled to Scotland, where they found a milder government; and they filled the whole kingdom with a just horror against the cruelties of the Catholics.

The moderation and forbearance of the Reformers is truly surprising, in an age when religious passions had taken

strong possession of the human mind, and agitated it with so much violence. From the death of Hamilton until the regency of Mary of Guise, whose intemperate policy kindled the flames of civil war, no violation of public order had been committed by the Reformers, though irritated by the most cruel ecclesiastical tyranny. Under every discouragement and oppression, the Reformation continued to advance: All the low country, the most populous and at that time the most warlike part of the kingdom, was deeply tinctured with the new opinions, or openly avowed them.

Another means which contributed to overturn the Catholic church, was the writings of the poets and the satirists of the age; who used very great freedoms with the church, in compositions of wit and humour. Before the Catholic clergy discovered the injurious tendency of these attacks, the practice had become too common to be restrained. In these doggerel compositions, the ignorance, the negligence, and the immorality of the clergy, were stigmatized; and they were read with avidity, notwithstanding prohibitory statutes and prosecutions.

The conduct of the Catholics during these transactions is remarkable. Intoxicated with power, and lulled asleep by indolence and presumptuous security, they were awakened only by the crash of their decayed and falling system. In a convention of prelates, held at Edinburgh 1545, an ineffectual motion was made for correcting the abuses of the church, and for reforming the manners of the clergy. Another council was held four years after, when no fewer than fifty-seven canons were enacted, for reforming the corruption and profane lewdness of the clergy of almost every degree, and for introducing some species of learning into the ecclesiastical estate. Had they been enacted some years sooner, and executed with rigorous impartiality, they might have retarded the progress of the Reformation: But they came too late. And it is remarkable, that, with a professed zeal for the reformation of manners, the Catholics mingled an inveterate hatred of heretics and a most implicit faith in the church.

The last provincial council was held at Edinburgh in 1558, and continued its sittings a whole year. To this assembly were presented, by the chiefs of the Congregation, the preliminary articles of Reformation. The Council separated, to meet no more. The last effort made by the Popish clergy to support their sinking cause was feeble, and destructive of their remaining influence. In the year 1559, the friars of a chapel

near Musselburgh gave public notice that they intended to put the truth of their religion to the proof, by performing a miracle upon a young man who had, as was alleged, been born blind. To this far-famed chapel the pious inhabitants of Scotland had, from time immemorial, repaired in pilgrimages to present their offerings to the Virgin, and to experience the virtue of her prayers. On the day appointed, multitudes assembled, impelled by credulous enthusiasm. After fervent public devotions and invocations, the young man opened his eyes, to the astonishment of the spectators.

But the imposture was quickly detected, by a Protestant gentleman of Fife; who prevailed upon the young man to accompany him to Edinburgh, and, by the promise of protection, added to remonstrance, drew from him the secret of his story. In his youth, he had acquired a peculiar faculty of turning his eyeballs so as to appear quite blind. Some friars in the neighbourhood instantly conceived the design of making him subservient to their purposes. They kept him in concealment, till by practice he became an adept in the art of counterfeiting blindness; and then sent him forth to beg as a blind pauper,—having bound him by a solemn vow not to reveal the secret. Attended by his protector with a drawn sword, the young man confessed the whole imposture at the cross of Edinburgh; the exposure was quickly published through the kingdom, and covered the friars with confusion.

To the Reformation we owe the diffusion of the principles of civil as well as religious liberty; for the arguments by which men claimed religious liberty were easily applied to civil rights. This result of free inquiry was soon perceived: Hence the Government in Scotland all along opposed the progress of the Reformation; it obstinately clung to the Catholic church, and cruelly persecuted all who favoured the new opinions. These, however, prevailed, in spite of the Government; but as the change was effected in opposition to power, its principles were more popular, and consequently more favourable to civil as well as ecclesiastical liberty.

CHAPTER II.

Mary. Arran Regent—is circumvented by Cardinal Beaton—opposed by the Earl of Lennox. The English interpose. War. Peace. Murder of Beaton—conspirators capitulate. The English invade Scotland. Battle of Pinkey.

A.D. 1542. MARY.—The death of James the Fifth was an afflicting event, and seemed a prelude to new calamities.

Mary, his infant daughter, succeeded to his kingdom and misfortunes. The solemnity of her coronation was celebrated at Stirling. Many of the nobility had been taken prisoners at Solway Moss; and those who escaped that disaster were factious and mutinous. The Reformed religion was struggling for toleration; while the Catholics, with Cardinal Beaton at their head, were eager to retain and augment their power. An unnecessary and unsuccessful war with England had dispirited the nation, and Henry the Eighth was stimulated with the glory of adding Scotland to his dominions.

No steps for the security of the kingdom had been taken by the late King before his death. Cardinal Beaton produced a forged testamentary deed, in which he was nominated Regent of the kingdom, tutor and guardian to the Queen dowager and the infant Princess. The nobility and the people, however, called in question the genuineness of the deed, and Beaton was degraded from his assumed dignity. The Parliament elevated to the Regency James Hamilton Earl of Arran, whom they judged to be entitled to that distinction, as being the nearest heir after Mary to the crown.

Had the Earl of Arran been endowed with abilities and vigour, the disgrace of the Cardinal might have proved the destruction of his party; but nature had not qualified the Regent for a station so high and difficult: His political views were circumscribed; he was too indolent to gain partisans, too irresolute to preserve them; besides, he was totally unfit for the bustle of business.

His enemies, applying themselves to the feverish timidity of his disposition, betrayed him into weaknesses; and the esteem that his gentleness had procured him in private life, was lost in the contempt excited by his public conduct, which was timid, fluctuating, and inconsistent. But his avowed attachment to the Reformers gained him the love of the common people; and a feeling of sympathy was mingled with his popularity, from the circumstance that his name was at the head of the roll of heretics which the Romish clergy had presented to the late King to be proscribed.

No sooner was Henry apprized of his nephew's death, than he projected the scheme of uniting the sister kingdoms, by the marriage of his son Edward to the Princess Mary. He communicated his design to the Scottish nobles then prisoners in London, and gained their approbation by civilities and pensions; but he meanly extorted an oath from them to use all

their influence for procuring him the charge and custody of the young Queen, the government of the kingdom, and the possession of its fortresses. Having consented to give hostages that they would return to London, should they fail in accomplishing the engagement they had made, the captive nobles left that city for Scotland, accompanied by Douglas Earl of Angus and his brother. That nobleman had been fifteen years an exile from his country; and now returned with letters from Henry to the Regent, commending him to his favour and protection.

The Regent lent a willing ear to the propositions and suggestions of those noblemen, from their rank and influence, and the personal interest they had in opposing the measures of the opposite party. A negotiation was immediately begun. Cardinal Beaton, the leader of the opposite faction, had been cast into prison, for being concerned with the Duke of Guise in treasonable designs against his country. A convention of the Estates was called, and seemed favourably inclined to the proposed marriage; but they rejected the conditions with scorn.

Sir Ralph Sadler, the English envoy, used all the arts of a skilful statesman to accomplish his master's purpose; but finding his arguments unavailing, he made an unsuccessful attempt to engage the liberated nobles to convey into England, by stratagem, the infant Princess, the Queen dowager, and Cardinal Beaton. Perceiving the necessity of modifying his demands, Henry instructed Sadler to treat with the Scots on terms as favourable as could be obtained. Articles of agreement were drawn up; the Regent solemnly swore to observe them, and commanded the great seal of Scotland to be affixed to the treaty.

Cardinal Beaton having regained his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound the measures of the Regent, and prevent their execution. He assembled the most considerable ecclesiastics; represented to them the danger to which their immunities and privileges were exposed, in making an alliance with the enemy of the Catholic church; and he obtained from them a large sum of money, to be intrusted to his management, for overturning the schemes of their enemies. The friars were instructed to preach against the treaty, and to excite the rage of fanatical men to insult the English envoy. A rash and unhappy measure of the English Monarch contributed to disaffect the Scots to an alliance with England. Relying on the treaty of marriage and amity, they had fitted-out a small fleet of merchantmen for France, with which their

trade had been interrupted for some time. The fleet was dispersed by a storm, and obliged to take refuge in different ports of England. Henry ordered the vessels to be seized, and condemned as lawful prizes, pretending that they carried provisions for his enemies.

The Scots, astonished and enraged, expressed all the resentment natural to a high-spirited people; and the Cardinal was applauded by the French party, as the defender of the honour and liberties of his country. The authority of the Regent rapidly declined; the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Bothwell, and Murray, openly assisted the Cardinal to collect troops, by whose means he seized the Queen dowager and the infant Princess. The Earl of Lennox, the hereditary enemy of Arran, returned at the same time from France, and attached himself to the Cardinal's faction. Beaton amused him with the hope of marrying the Queen dowager, and affected to treat him with such respect that the Regent became jealous of his growing influence.

That suspicion was artfully heightened by the Abbot of Paisley, who acted in concert with the Cardinal. The Abbot was the Regent's natural brother, over whom he had great influence; but he was a warm partisan of France, and devoted to Beaton and the Catholic church. He speedily effected a change in the Regent's intentions towards England: In the short space of ten days after he had sworn to observe the treaty, he had a private interview with the Cardinal, renounced the friendship of England, and declared for the interest of France.

He displayed the same levity in his religious principles. He publicly renounced the doctrine of the Reformers, at Stirling, and received absolution from the hands of the Cardinal; who thus rendered him an object of universal contempt. Having gained an entire ascendancy over the Regent, Beaton assumed the supreme power over the kingdom, and exercised all the authority of the Regent without the envy of the name.

A new line of policy was adopted towards England. When the day for the delivery of hostages arrived, agreeably to the late treaty, the English envoy was informed that the Regent was incapable of fulfilling the conditions agreed upon, as the wishes of the nation were changed. The nobles who had returned from London were then summoned by Sadler to return thither; but none of them complied, except Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis; whom Henry rewarded with entire liberty, for his honourable conduct.

The Earl of Lennox was the only person whose power the Cardinal had reason to fear. That nobleman's influence had been successfully employed to awaken the Regent's jealousy and fear; but, when his influence was no longer necessary, the Cardinal treated him with coldness and neglect. Disappointed ambition and resentment urged Lennox to thirst for revenge: He therefore withdrew from the court, and declared for the English faction.

The contending parties had now exchanged their leaders. The Regent was at the head of the French party and the Catholics; Lennox was the leader of the Reformers, and the partisan of England; and it was resolved to appeal to the sword to decide the controversy. Fortune seemed to favour Lennox in preparing for the contest. Five ships from France, laden with warlike stores, and having on board thirty thousand crowns, were seized by him. The judicious application of this wealth afforded a more cogent argument than the justice of his cause; and he was speedily at the head of a formidable army. By a sudden march to Edinburgh, he surprised the leaders of the opposite party, and might have dictated the terms of an accommodation. But he suffered himself to be amused by the Cardinal until many of his followers had dispersed, when the remnant of his troops was unexpectedly attacked and routed; and, had not an English army at that crisis invaded Scotland, the ruin of Lennox must have been inevitable.

Henry, conceiving himself insulted by the Regent's tergiversation, and fired with resentment against the Cardinal and the Parliament, equipped a fleet of two hundred ships, with ten thousand men on board, to invade Scotland. The Earl of Hertford commanded the land forces; which were disembarked near Leith. After plundering that town, and burning the metropolis, the English laid waste all the South-eastern counties, destroyed Haddington and Dunbar, and returned home.

Unable to resist the English forces, the Regent and the Cardinal fled to Stirling castle. Lennox, to escape the vengeance of his enemies, fled to England. Henry settled a pension on him, and gave him in marriage Lady Margaret Douglas, his niece. During the two succeeding years, the war was conducted feebly, and without any decisive effect. A peace was then concluded; and the Scots being delivered from the tyranny of Beaton, anticipated a season of repose.

Cardinal Beaton was murdered at St Andrew's, early in the morning of the 28th of May. To avenge the death of

George Wishart, was the ostensible though not the real cause. Wishart was a man of a gentle and inoffensive disposition, but a zealous preacher of the Reformed doctrines: He had therefore rendered himself obnoxious to the Cardinal; who treacherously seized and condemned him to be burned alive, and in whose execution he triumphed with savage delight.

Norman Lesslie, the eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, had been treated by the Cardinal with injustice and contempt. The pride, the rapacity, the cruelty of Beaton, were detested by a numerous party; many of whom conceived that his death was a necessary sacrifice for the repose of the kingdom and the safety of the Reformed religion.

Beaton had strongly fortified the castle of St Andrew's, in which he then resided; his retinue was numerous, the townsmen were devoted to him, and the neighbourhood was full of his dependants. Notwithstanding these formidable obstacles, Lesslie, with fifteen coadjutors, seized the gates of the castle, and turned out one hundred and fifty workmen and servants, one by one, without noise, or exciting any serious apprehension. The Regent's eldest son was the only person detained; by whose means the conspirators hoped to obtain a more favourable compromise with their enemies.

The astonished prelate was hardly aware of his danger, until Lesslie knocked at his chamber-door for admission. After an ineffectual attempt to secure the door, he admitted them, and implored their mercy. Two of the conspirators hastily rushed towards him with their swords; but James Melville, a deliberate villain, rebuked their passion, and profanely observed, that this work was the judgment of God, and, though secret, ought to be executed with gravity. He then reproached the Cardinal for his cruelty to Wishart, and, without waiting for any reply, thrust him thrice through the body.

A.D. 1546.

There is no evidence that John Knox, or any of the leaders of the Reformation, had any participation in the Cardinal's murder; although in his discourses he apparently justified it,—maintaining, that flagrant delinquents, when protected by the perversion of legal authority, may lawfully be put to death by private individuals.

The castle of St Andrew's was retained by the friends of Lesslie; who, to the number of one hundred and fifty persons, prepared to defend themselves. They despatched messengers to London, entreating assistance; and Henry promised to take them under his protection, notwithstanding he had recently concluded a peace with Scotland. The Regent

Arran was not displeased at the news of the Cardinal's death; but, in compliance with the wishes of the Queen dowager and the Catholics, he threatened Lesslie and his associates with severe punishment, which he was unable to inflict. The Scots were then entirely unacquainted with the art of attacking fortified places. A single battalion, with a few battering cannon, would reduce, in a few hours, a fortress which resisted all the power of the Regent for five months.

John Knox, along with Sir David Lindsay, and John Rough, a Protestant preacher, retired to the castle in the following year, as the only safe place in which they could assemble for religious instruction. It was there that Knox received a call from the few refugees to become their minister; which, after some reluctance, he accepted. He began to preach, with great boldness, against the errors of Popery; and, being called to answer for certain points of his doctrine, before the Sub-prior, he defended his tenets with so much skill, learning, and address, that the Papists would never afterwards run the risk of a public disputation.

Weapons more effective were soon after employed for the castigation of the assassins, and the suppression of this dangerous heresy. A French fleet attacked the castle of St Andrew's by sea, while a body of troops expert in sieges assailed it by land. Unskilled in the art of defence, and dispirited by the news of the English Monarch's death, the besieged, after a brave resistance, were forced to surrender. But their courage procured them an honourable capitulation: It was stipulated that they should be conveyed to any country which they might appoint, and set safely at liberty. The capitulation was violated at the instigation of the Scottish prelates: They were all kept prisoners of war; and Knox in particular was chained as a felon on board a French galley, and reduced to the most miserable state of captivity. His calamities were soon aggravated by sickness; but his spirit and fortitude were unconquerable.

He spent his time in exhorting and instructing his fellow prisoners, and in debating with such of the priests and friars as curiosity brought from time to time to his galley. In the summer of the following year, the fleet was again sent to cruise off the Eastern coast of Scotland; and one day when they were becalmed off the city of St Andrew's, one of his fellow prisoners called upon Knox, who had laid himself down on the benches, to look up and see whether he knew the spires and turrets before them. The Reformer looked up, and replied, with great emotion, that he knew them well;

and was fully persuaded, how weak soever he then appeared, that he should not depart this life till his tongue should again glorify God in the same place.

After a dreary captivity of nineteen months, he was liberated, although it is uncertain by whose means; and instantly repaired to England; where Archbishop Cranmer, under the auspices of the minor King, Edward the Sixth, was advancing the cause of the Reformation. Knox was appointed one of Edward's chaplains, and assisted in composing and compiling the Book of Common Prayer. A valuable benefice, and even a bishopric, were offered to him if he would settle in England; which he conscientiously declined.

After the surrender of the Cardinal's castle at St Andrew's, that fortress, in obedience to the canon law, was entirely demolished. The Regent's natural brother, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, was elevated to the archiepiscopal see.

Agreeably to the dying recommendation of Henry, the Protector of England determined, if possible, to unite the sister kingdoms. He levied an army of eight thousand men, and equipped a fleet of sixty ships, stored with ammunition and necessaries; and with this force he entered Scotland and advanced towards Edinburgh. The Scots had observed for some time the gathering storm, and prepared for it: Their army was nearly double that of the enemy, and was posted to the greatest advantage on a rising ground above Musselburgh, near the river Esk.

Their position and number alarmed the English general; who saw his danger, and would willingly have extricated himself from it by negotiation. The Scottish commanders, imputing these overtures to fear, rejected them with disdain; and had their prudence been equal to their confidence, the ruin of the English must have been inevitable, as they were in a situation precisely similar to that in which the army of Cromwell was in the following century.

Afraid lest the English should escape by flight, the untutored courage of the Scots became impatient for action, and they left their camp and descended into the plain. Somerset, who had drawn up his men on a gentle eminence, was pleased with this movement of the Scots; and as his countrymen had usually been superior in pitched battles, he entertained great hopes of success.

The Scottish army consisted chiefly of infantry; who were armed with long spears, and on that account their files were very deep and their ranks close. They advanced towards the English in three great bodies; but, as they passed the Esk,

they were exposed to the fire of the enemy's fleet, which lay in the bay of Musselburgh. The eldest son of Lord Graham was killed. The English cavalry, flushed with an advantage which they had gained in a skirmish some days before, began the attack with more impetuosity than good conduct. The Scottish infantry presented a solid and compact body, which not only resisted the impression of cavalry, but broke and chased them off the field.

The English infantry however advanced; and the Scots were at once exposed to a flight of arrows, to a fire in flank from a body of fusileers, and to a tremendous discharge of cannon from the highest part of the eminence. The depth and closeness of their order made it impossible for the Scots to remain long in their position. The Earl of Angus, who commanded the vanguard, endeavoured to change his ground, and retire to the main body. His friends unhappily mistook his movement for a flight, and fell into confusion. At that instant, the broken cavalry having rallied, returned to the charge; the infantry pursued the advantage they had gained; the hope of victory redoubled the ardour of both; and in a moment the rout of the Scots became universal and irretrievable.

The encounter on the field was not long nor bloody; but, in the pursuit, the English discovered all the rage and fierceness that national antipathy could inspire. The pursuit was continued for five hours, and to a great distance. The three roads by which the Scots fled were strewed with spears, swords, and targets, and the bodies of the slain fugitives. Above ten thousand men fell on this day; which was one of the most disastrous that Scotland had ever seen. The English lost only two hundred.

A.D. 1547.

This action was called the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's seat of that name in the neighbourhood.

Somerset had it now in his power to become master of the kingdom. The Regent and the Queen dowager fled to Stirling; at the same time, the Earl of Lennox entered the Western Marches, with five thousand men, plundered Annan, and spread devastation over all the neighbouring counties.

But this victory was of no real advantage to the English, as Somerset wanted skill or leisure to improve it. He was impatient to return home, as his enemies, among whom was his own brother, had already laid a plan for his destruction. Having taken some petty castles, and received the submission of some counties on the Borders, he retired to England.

His fleet destroyed all the Scottish shipping along the coast, captured Broughty Castle in the Frith of Tay, and fortified it; and having left a garrison of two hundred men in the island of St Columba, with two ships of war to guard it, the fleet returned home.

The Regent, urged by extremity, turned his eyes towards France. Messengers were despatched to inform Henry of the disasters of his allies, and to implore assistance. The defeat of the Scots was ultimately of greater advantage to the French than to the English; for, after the death of Cardinal Beaton, the Queen dowager directed the measures of government; and being allied by blood and attached by inclination to France, she sedulously endeavoured to promote the interest of that country.

CHAPTER III.

Resignation of Arran. Mary of Guise Regent. Marriage of the young Queen. Insidious policy of the French. Union of the Congregation. Walter Mills burned. Dissensions between the Congregation and the Catholics.

The defeat at Pinkey had loaded the Regent with disgrace. The Queen dowager, conceiving the design of obtaining the regency, improved the present circumstances to her advantage. As the assistance of France was indispensable to obtain her wishes, she resolved to form new engagements with that country. The Scottish ambassadors were instructed to insinuate that a marriage between the Dauphin and their young Queen would not be unacceptable to their countrymen, provided Henry would in return send them a military force sufficient to enable them to defend their country from the attacks of the English.

To gain at once such a kingdom as Scotland, was an object of no small consequence to France. Henry, without hesitation, accepted the offer; and sent immediately six thousand men to Scotland, under Monsieur Dessé, who disembarked at Leith. The French served two campaigns in Scotland; during which they besieged Haddington and some other inconsiderable fortresses, which were evacuated by the English. By these operations, the French Monarch gained two advantages: The diversion his troops made in Scotland enabled him to wrest Boulogne from the English; and the presence of his army produced the ready concurrence of the Scottish Parliament to the young Queen's marriage, and to her residence in France for education.

The Queen dowager called a Parliament, that the articles of the marriage-treaty might be finally settled. A point of so much importance was hastily decided; the arguments of the Queen dowager and her partisans were rendered irresistible by the plentiful distribution of French gold; even the Regent was weak enough to accept of a pension from France, with the title of Duke of Chatelherault. Thus, the interest of a faction was preferred to the honour of the nation. The young Queen, attended by the Lords Erskine and Living-
A. D. stone, was conveyed to France, where she was soon
1548. after betrothed to the Dauphin.

Somerset, despairing of success in his designs upon Scotland, proposed a truce; which was rejected. Lord Seymour was despatched with a body of troops, and made a descent in Fife, and subsequently near Montrose. In the first he was successfully opposed by James Stewart, prior of St Andrew's, a natural son of the late King; in the last, John Erskine of Dun distinguished himself in opposing the
A. D. invaders: But a peace being concluded between
1550. France, England, and Scotland, the French troops returned to their own country.

The Queen dowager, accompanied by a number of the Scottish nobility, made a voyage to France, for the ostensible purpose of visiting her daughter and relatives; but her real intention was to obtain the influence of the French King to persuade the Earl of Arran to resign the regency. Meanwhile, the Bishop of Ross and the Commendator of Kilwinning privately persuaded the Regent to resign his authority: But, upon the Queen dowager's return, he was very reluctant to fulfil his engagement. Finding, however, that the principal nobles no longer supported him, and that the majority of the young Princess was fast approaching, he judged it prudent to submit.

A. D. It was in the Parliament which met on the 10th of
1554. April that the Earl of Arran executed this extraordinary resignation; and Mary of Guise was raised to that dignity which had been so long the object of her wishes. D'Oisel, a Frenchman of great capacity, had attended her as ambassador to Scotland from Henry, but in reality to assist her in the administration of the government. This man had formed a scheme for laying a general tax upon the kingdom, to support a permanent military force. The measure was found to be unpopular; and the Queen Regent had the prudence to trust entirely for her security to the goodwill and courage of her subjects.

As the French Monarch was desirous to celebrate the marriage of the Dauphin and the young Queen, the Scottish Parliament appointed a deputation of eight of its number to represent the whole body of the nation, to settle the terms of the contract, and to assist at the ceremony. The nuptials were solemnized with great pomp; but the French, who had hitherto affected to veil their designs upon Scotland, became less reserved. It had been agreed upon, in the marriage-treaty, that the Dauphin should assume the title of King of Scotland: But the French laboured to annex to the name some substantial advantage and power: They insisted that his title should be publicly recognized; that the crown matrimonial should be conferred upon him; and that all the rights pertaining to the husband of a queen should be vested in his person.

In conducting this intricate negotiation, the Scottish deputies acted with considerable prudence. They discovered a fixed resolution of consenting to nothing that might introduce any alteration in the order of succession to the throne. The Scottish Parliament, in which the French ventured to move the subject, was more obsequious; and, notwithstanding the zealous opposition of the house of Hamilton, the Queen Regent procured an act conferring the crown matrimonial on the Dauphin. The Earl of Argyll and the Prior of St Andrew's were appointed to carry to him the crown, and the other ensigns of royalty.

A. D. 1558.

In negotiating the marriage-treaty between their niece and the Dauphin, the Duke of Guise and his five brothers, while they prevailed on the French court to grant every security for the independence of the Scottish crown, engaged the young Queen to subscribe privately three deeds, by which, in failure of heirs of her own body, she conferred the kingdom of Scotland, with every inheritance and succession which might accrue to it, in free gift, upon the crown of France: And they moreover had the hardihood to elicit this remarkable declaration, that any deed which her subjects might extort from her to the contrary should be void and of no obligation.

By the succession mentioned in these deeds, the crown of England seems to have been meant; for no sooner were the Guises informed of the death of Queen Mary of England, and the accession of her sister Elizabeth, than they formed the desperate project to acquire for France the kingdom of England. For this purpose, they solicited and obtained at Rome a bull declaring Queen Elizabeth illegitimate; and as

the Queen of Scots was next heir by blood, they persuaded her and her husband to assume the title and arms of England.

Elizabeth complained of this insult; but she could obtain only an evasive reply. She thenceforth conceived a violent jealousy against the Queen of Scots, and determined at the same time to oppose the design of the French court. The sudden death of Henry of France, who was killed at a tournament, appeased not her indignation; for, being informed that his son and successor, Francis the Second, continued to assume, without reserve, the title of King of England, she ever after considered him and his Queen as her mortal enemies, and resolved not only to provide for her own safety, but to seize every opportunity of revenging the injury.

No sooner were the Princes of Lorrain in full possession of the administration under Francis, than they determined to support with vigour the claim of the Queen of Scots. Convinced that England could be attacked with the greatest advantage from Scotland, the Guises sent orders to their sister the Regent, to take the most effective measures for humbling the partisans of England, and suppressing the Protestant opinions in Scotland. They hoped that the English Catholics, who were formidable by their number, and exasperated against Elizabeth for the change she had made in the national religion, would rise in support of the claim of her Scottish rival.

The situation of affairs in Scotland afforded Elizabeth an opportunity of retaliating upon her enemies: The Reformation was rapidly advancing in that kingdom; and the Queen Regent, desirous to secure the favour of the Protestant leaders, by whose means she had been elevated to her high station, connived at the progress of doctrines which she had not the power to suppress. Too cautious, however, to trust to this precarious security, the Earls of Argyll, Morton, Glencairn, Lord Lorne, Erskine of Dun, with other Protestant gentlemen, subscribed privately a bond of association for their mutual protection, and the propagation of their religious tenets; and called themselves *the Congregation of the Lord*, in contradistinction to the Popish church, which they named *the Congregation of Satan*.

Before the league was publicly known, the clergy, alarmed by the progress of the new opinions, attempted to recover their lost authority, by a violent exercise of power in enforcing the tyrannical laws against heresy. Hamilton the Primate seized Walter Mills, a priest of an irreproachable life, who

had embraced the Reformed doctrines; and, having tried him at St Andrew's, condemned him to the flames. But so general was the aversion to this act of barbarity, that it was some time before the bishops could prevail on any one to act as a civil judge, and pronounce sentence upon Mills. Even after the time of his execution was fixed, no person would sell a rope to tie him to the stake; and the Primate himself was obliged to furnish that implement.

Mills endured his fate with the fortitude which zeal for truth inspires. The spectators, to express their abhorrence of the cruelty of the priests, raised a monument of stones upon the place of his execution. The clergy, enraged, gave orders to remove it; but it was as suddenly raised again by the indignant multitude. This was the last act of barbarity that the Catholics had the power of executing under the sanction of the laws.

The people, some time after, discovered their sentiments in such a manner as was sufficient to prognosticate to the priests the fate which was awaiting them. A provincial council, held at Edinburgh, permitted some convicted heretics to redeem their lives by making a public recantation on the 1st of September, the festival of St Giles, the tutelary saint of Edinburgh. It was usual on that festival to carry in procession the image of St Giles; but the Reformers, in order to prevent the ceremony, found means to purloin the statue from the church. The clergy hastily formed a new image, which in derision was called by the people *young* St Giles. The saint was carried through the streets, attended by all the ecclesiastics in the town and neighbourhood. Of this ceremony, the Queen Regent was witness; but, the moment she retired, the multitude threw the idol in the mire, broke it in pieces, and rescued the convicts. The flight and terror of the priests and friars was the subject of universal mockery and laughter.

Encouraged by these appearances, the Congregation now openly solicited subscriptions to the league. Not satisfied with a new and more solemn promise of protection, they presented a petition to the Regent, craving a reformation of the church: They framed a petition, which they intended to present to the Parliament, soliciting some legal protection against the oppression and exorbitant jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts: They presented to the Convocation, then sitting, a petition which they called the preliminary articles of the Reformation,—desiring, first, "That public prayers be conceived and the sacrament administered in the vulgar

tongue; second, that, in time coming, bishops be admitted with the assent of the barons of the diocese, and parish priests with the assent of the parishioners; third, that they who are unfit for the pastoral charge, be removed from their benefices, and such others placed in their room as are able and willing to instruct the people by constant preaching; fourth, that in future, immoral and ignorant persons be excluded from the administration of the sacraments, and the other ecclesiastical functions."

Instead of soothing the Protestants by prudent concessions, the Convocation evaded or rejected their demands; and the Queen Regent, who had hitherto temporized between the parties, now proceeded with rigour against the Reformers, in obedience to commands she had recently received from her brothers. She publicly expressed her approbation of the decrees by which their principles were condemned; and summoned the most eminent Protestant preachers to appear before her council at Stirling.

The members of the Congregation, alarmed but not overawed by this menace, assembled in great numbers, according to the custom of Scotland at that time, to attend their pastors to the place of trial, to countenance and protect them. Dreading the approach of so formidable a party, the Regent deputed Erskine of Dun, a person of great authority among the Reformers, to assure them that she would put a stop to the present proceedings, if they would advance no farther. They listened with pleasure to a proposition so pacific: But the Regent forfeited her word, and proceeded to the trial of the persons formerly cited; against whom sentence of outlawry was passed, on account of their not appearing.

An artifice so mean and contemptible, excited the indignation of the whole body of the Protestants. Erskine himself, enraged at the Queen's deceitful conduct, instantly repaired to Perth, whither the leaders of the Protestants had retired, and where they boldly prepared for their defence. At that crisis, John Knox arrived from the Continent. That indefatigable preacher lost no time in confirming the resolution of the wavering, and stimulating their indignation against Popery. After Erskine had communicated to the Congregation the news of the impending danger, Knox mounted the pulpit, and declaimed with great vehemence against the idolatry of the mass and image worship. The Congregation then quietly dismissed, except a few idle persons, who loitered in the church.

A priest was so imprudent as to uncover a rich altar-piece

decorated with images, for the purpose of saying mass. A boy having uttered some reproachful epithets, was struck by the priest. The juvenile aggressor retaliated by throwing a stone; which broke one of the images. This served as a signal for a general assault. In the course of a few minutes, the images, the altar, and the ornaments of the church, were demolished, and trampled under foot.

With augmented rage and additional numbers, the assailants proceeded to the monasteries of the Gray and the Black Friars; which they instantly pillaged and laid in ruins. The costly edifice of the Carthusians underwent the same fate, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Protestant leaders and the authority of the Magistrates, who interposed without effect. The inhabitants of Cupar in Fife soon after imitated this fury of devastation. Provoked at these outrages, the Queen Regent assembled an army, composed chiefly of French troops, and advanced towards Perth, to chastise the insurgents. The latter vigorously prepared to defend themselves; and, being joined by the Earl of Glencairn, with many of the nobility and gentry, they appeared formidable from their numbers and zeal.

They would gladly have soothed the Queen by the most dutiful addresses. Indeed, neither party seemed inclined to unsheath the sword. A treaty was concluded through the mediation of the young Earl of Argyll and the Prior of St Andrew's; in which it was stipulated, that an indemnity should be granted to all persons concerned in the late disturbances, and that the Parliament should be immediately convoked to compose religious differences. Both these stipulations were violated by the Regent. She removed the Magistrates of Perth from their office; some of the inhabitants of that town were fined; others were banished; and she left a garrison in the place, with orders not to allow the exercise of any religion except the Roman Catholic.

CHAPTER IV.

Mary of Guise superseded. Military operations. Queen Elizabeth aids the Congregation. Death of the Queen dowager—her character. Peace. Ecclesiastical affairs. Death of Francis. Queen Mary returns to Scotland.

THESE unexpected infractions of the treaty disappointed and perplexed the Reformers: But a sense of their imminent danger stimulated them to activity. They renewed the league, and collected their followers for defensive operations.

The Regent marched against them with her army; but finding their forces greatly augmented, she was induced to conclude a truce for a few days, and to pass over with her troops to the Lothians. The gates of Perth and Stirling were immediately opened to the Congregation; who were soon afterwards gladly received in Edinburgh.

The Queen took shelter in Dunbar; which she fortified, in expectation of a reinforcement from France. The dispute between the Regent and the Congregation had hitherto been purely religious: It now assumed a more complex character. Being joined by the Earl of Argyll and the Prior of St Andrew's, the Reformers aimed at the redress of civil as well as religious grievances; and required, as a preliminary towards settling the peace of the kingdom, the immediate dismissal of the French forces from Scotland. The Queen amused them for a time with pretended negotiations and fair promises; which were finally terminated by the arrival of one thousand men from France. A numerous reinforcement was soon after disembarked, under the command of Monsieur La Brosse; who was accompanied by the Bishop of Amiens and three doctors of the Sorbonne. These zealous ecclesiastics were supplied with stores of syllogisms, authorities, citations, and scholastic arguments, which they intended to oppose to the Scottish preachers, and which they presumed would acquire force and produce conviction by the influence of the French arms and artillery.

Assured by the court of France that she might expect the speedy arrival of so powerful an army that the Reformers could not dare to encounter it, the Queen Regent immediately broke off all negotiations with her opponents. "She was not answerable to them," she said, "for any part of her conduct. She would retain in her service the number of troops she judged necessary; and commanded the Reformers, as they valued her favour and the repose of the kingdom, to disband their forces."

This haughty and imperious conduct determined the associated lords to adopt a violent and decisive measure. They assembled all the peers, barons, and representatives of barons that adhered to them; and that convocation, after discussing the most delicate and important question that can fall under the consideration of subjects, boldly and unanimously gave their suffrages for depriving Mary of Guise of the office and authority of Regent.

The Queen had already retired into Leith; which she had fortified and garrisoned with French troops. That town was

immediately invested by the forces of the Congregation; but they soon found that their zeal had engaged them in an enterprise which exceeded their ability to execute. The French, despising the tumultuary efforts of raw and undisciplined troops, refused to surrender; and their besiegers were not sufficiently skilful in the art of war, nor possessed of the artillery and magazines necessary, for the purposes of a siege.

Nor was that their only misfortune. Accustomed to decide every quarrel by immediate action, the assailants were strangers to the fatigues of a protracted campaign, and soon became impatient of the severe and constant duty that a siege requires. They first murmured, then mutinied. The garrison, apprized of their discontent, made a bold sally, and cut many of them in pieces; which so dispirited the remainder, that they abandoned the siege, and retreated to Stirling.

Having received from France a reinforcement of one thousand veteran infantry and some troops of horse, the Queen Regent detached a strong party to scour and lay waste the adjacent country, and to pillage the castles and estates of the Protestants. In this pressing extremity, the Lords of the Congregation turned their eyes towards England, whence they had already been supplied with money. Maitland of Lethington, formerly the Regent's principal secretary, and Robert Melville, already acquainted with the intrigues of courts, were secretly despatched to solicit succours from the Queen of England. Sympathy in religion, and hatred to the Catholics and their foreign auxiliaries, had now abated the animosities of the English and the Scottish Protestants.

Elizabeth's sagacious ministers did not hesitate to grant a request so consonant to the wishes and interests of their mistress. The counsels of the Queen were prudent, but decisive. No sooner did she determine to afford assistance to the Protestant Lords, than they experienced the activity as well as extent of her power. The advanced season prevented her troops from taking the field; but, lest the French army in Leith should receive an accession of strength during the winter, she instantly despatched a squadron to cruise in the Frith of Forth.

After the flight of the Congregation to Stirling, the Queen dowager took possession of Edinburgh with her French troops; and the church of St Giles was again hallowed by the Bishop of Amiens. But her scheme to conquer Scotland was rendered abortive by the alliance of her enemies with the English Queen. To annihilate, if possible, the Protestant forces, before English succour could arrive, the French were de-

spatched into Fife, with orders to ravage the estates of the malecontent lords; but the Prior of St Andrew's, with six hundred troops, annoyed four thousand French, and prevented them from reaching St Andrew's for twenty days.

The appearance of the English fleet in the Frith of Forth, obliged the French troops to make a precipitate and circuitous retreat by Stirling Bridge to Leith, where they prepared to defend themselves. Early in the spring, Elizabeth sent six thousand foot and two thousand horse into Scotland, under Lord Grey of Wilton. To meet their new allies, the forces of the Reformers assembled from all parts of the kingdom; and the combined army, amounting to thirteen thousand men, besieged Leith. The French garrison was speedily reduced to great difficulties. A French fleet, having on board a powerful reinforcement, was dispersed by a storm.

Upon the approach of the English, the Queen dowager retired to the castle of Edinburgh; where she died soon after. A few days before her death, she sent a message desiring a conference with the Prior of St Andrew's, and the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Marischal. She expressed to these noblemen her sorrow for the violent measures she had adopted in pursuance of the counsels of her family; she requested their forgiveness for the offences she had committed against them and the nation; and entreated them to render a A.D. 1560. dutiful obedience to her daughter, their queen and sovereign: She then bade them a last adieu.

Mary of Guise was endowed with great capacity: Her judgment was acute; she could readily comprehend a system, and pursue it with undeviating exactness and unshaken resolution. In distributing justice, she was impartial, or rather severe; in private life, she was social, amiable, and magnificent.

Nothing could now save the garrison of Leith but the immediate conclusion of a treaty or the arrival of a powerful army from France. The situation of that kingdom reluctantly constrained the Princes of Lorrain to turn their thoughts to pacific measures. The Protestants in France had become formidable by their numbers, and still more by the genius and enterprising courage of their leaders. Animated with zeal, and inflamed by resentment against the Guises, who had persuaded Francis the Second to revive the penal statutes against heretics, the French Protestants boldly prepared for defence, and even for retaliating upon the Catholics, who had threatened to extirpate their religion. In a condition so distracted and alarming, the French court abandoned their

schemes of distant conquest: It became necessary to withdraw the few veteran troops in Scotland, instead of sending new reinforcements to that country.

But it appeared to Francis and Mary, that they could not, consistently with their dignity and honour, treat directly with the Congregation, whom they affected to consider as rebels. A negotiation was therefore opened, through the mediation of Elizabeth. Two separate treaties were concluded by the plenipotentiaries of the belligerant powers assembled at Edinburgh. In these treaties, it was stipulated that the French troops should immediately evacuate Scotland; that Francis and Mary should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England; that an amnesty should be published for all past offences; that none but native Scotsmen should be eligible to fill any office of state, or hold either civil or military authority; that the Parliament should nominate twenty-four persons, of whom the Queen might select seven, and the Estates five, for conducting the government during their Sovereign's absence; and that Mary should make neither peace nor war without the consent of Parliament. In order to hasten the execution of these treaties, Elizabeth provided ships for transporting the French troops to their own country.

No particular settlement had been made in these treaties respecting the religious differences that agitated the kingdom; but the result was, on that very account, the more fatal to Popery. The Reformers were left in possession of authority; and they were now by far the most powerful party in the nation, both in rank and in numbers. With the exception of those places which had been occupied by the Queen Regent and her foreign auxiliaries, the Catholic worship was almost universally deserted throughout the kingdom. The firm hold which it once had of the opinions and affections of the people was completely loosened; it was supported by force alone; and the moment that the French troops embarked, that fabric which had stood for ages in Scotland fell to the ground. Its feeble and dismayed priests ceased of their own accord from celebrating its rites, and the Reformed service was peaceably set up wherever ministers could be found to perform it.

Being now absolute masters of the kingdom, the leaders of the Congregation speedily completed the work of reformation. A Parliament was convened, to settle the internal tranquillity of the country. That assembly consisted of the nobles, the dignified clergy, the inferior barons, and the burgesses. On this occasion, the inferior barons and the bur-

gesses stood forth to vindicate their civil and religious liberties. Since the reign of James the First, they had been exempted from personal attendance in Parliament, and permitted to elect representatives; but, except in a few instances, even the representatives had absented themselves: Hence the inferior barons had almost forfeited their right by neglecting to exercise it. Upon this memorable occasion, they assembled at Edinburgh, and petitioned the Legislature to be restored to their ancient privilege. Their petition was granted; in consequence of which a hundred gentlemen took their seats, and the Protestant members greatly outnumbered their adversaries. This was the most important meeting of the Estates that had ever been held in Scotland. The attention of the nation and of all Europe was fixed on its proceedings. Many of the nobles and dignified clergy attached to Popery absented themselves; of those who attended, were the Archbishop of St Andrew's, the Bishops of Dunblane and Dunkeld.

After ratifying the late treaties, the Parliament proceeded to deliberate upon the subject of religious reform. A Confession of Faith, or a summary of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, composed in the space of four days by the Reformed ministers, was read before the Lords of Articles, and afterwards before the whole Parliament. The Earl of Atholl, Lords Somerville and Borthwick, were the only persons of the Temporal Estate who voted against it. They said they would believe as their forefathers believed. The bishops were silent; although they who had objections against the Confession were formally required to state them.

When the Confession had received the sanction of Parliament, the Earl Marischal declared that the silence of the clergy confirmed him in his belief of the Protestant doctrine; and that if the Ecclesiastical Estate should afterwards oppose the Confession, they should be entitled to no credit.

The Presbyterian form of church government was thus established, nearly as it exists at present. But it is rather remarkable, that the Reformers, who had just escaped the rigour of ecclesiastical tyranny, should have proceeded with such haste to imitate those examples of severity of which they had so justly complained.* Severe acts were passed

* The first General Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland was held at Edinburgh, 20th December 1560. It consisted of forty members, six of whom were ministers. The first Moderator was John Willock.

against the Catholics; the exercise of their religious worship was prohibited, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third.

Sir James Sandilands, Prior of St John, was sent over to France, to obtain the Queen's ratification of these acts. But he was very ill received by Mary; who refused to ratify those proceedings, which, by the treaty of Edinburgh, should have been presented for ratification in the form of deliberations, not of acts. The Reformers gave themselves little uneasiness about their Queen's refusal, but immediately put their statutes in execution. They abolished the mass, settled their ministers; and they have been accused of committing furious devastations on the magnificent Catholic edifices, which they considered as dangerous relicks of idolatry: Abbeys, churches, and even mausoleums, perished in one common ruin.

The Protestant nobility, well acquainted with the imperious character of the Princes of Lorrain and the vindictive spirit of the Catholics, despatched ambassadors to Elizabeth, to express their gratitude for her past favours, and to solicit a continuance of her support. That princess had equal reason to desire a union with the Scottish Protestants; for though the Princes of Lorrain had withdrawn the French troops from Scotland, they determined not to relinquish their authority in that kingdom, nor to renounce their designs on Elizabeth's throne. Francis and Mary continued to assume the title and arms of England, and refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh.

The death of Francis the Second, a prince of a feeble constitution and mean understanding, produced a great change in the councils of France, and considerably influenced the destiny of Scotland. Elizabeth was delivered from the perils attending the union of Scotland with France, and the Scottish Protestants were freed from the terror of the French power.

Slighted by the Queen mother, neglected by the French courtiers, and overwhelmed with sorrow, Mary retired to Rheims; where, in solitude, she indulged her grief or concealed her resentment. Notwithstanding her forlorn condition, she still declined to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and to make a solemn renunciation of her pretensions to the English crown.

On learning the reverses and afflictions of their Queen, the Scots sent a deputation to France, inviting her to return to her native country and assume the reins of government. Accustomed to the elegance, gallantry, and gayety of a splen-

did court, and to the conversation of a polished people, Mary lingered in the scene of all these enjoyments, and contemplated with horror the barbarous state of her native country. By the advice of her uncles, she determined to set out for Scotland. As the course of her voyage lay along the English coast, she demanded a safe-conduct of Elizabeth; but it was refused. Mary was filled with indignation at this ungenerous conduct; but it did not retard her departure from France, which was attended with circumstances very affecting.

The cause of her grief seems to have been a fatal presentiment of that scene of misfortune on which she was about to enter. After the vessel had put to sea, she kept her eyes fixed upon the French coast till darkness fell. She commanded a couch to be spread for her upon the deck, where she waited, with fond impatience, the return of day. In the morning, the French coast being still visible, she frequently repeated, with a sigh, "Farewell, France, farewell; I shall never see thee more!"

Her uncles, and the other courtiers who attended her, endeavoured to console and encourage her. No sooner did the French gallies appear off Leith, than people of all ranks hastened towards the shore, to behold and welcome their young Sovereign. She had attained her nineteenth year: The bloom of youth, the gracefulness of her person, the affability of her address, the politeness of her manners, and the elegance of her genius, excited the greatest admiration and respect. She was skilled in various languages, ancient and modern; she had studied music, poetry, and rhetoric, with great success. Accustomed from her infancy to magnificence and splendour, she was deeply affected with the change in her situation; for the poverty of the Scots could not be concealed; and she was conducted to Holyroodhouse with little pomp.

During these transactions, the Protestant preachers had been assiduous and successful in disseminating knowledge through all parts of the kingdom; and they had received a considerable accession of numbers from the ranks of their opponents. The striking concatenation of events has been already noticed, which contributed to the rise and progress of the Reformed doctrines; to which the following may be added. When the late Queen Regent, who from policy had connived at the propagation of the new doctrines, was preparing to crush the Reformation, Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, and supported the Scottish Reform-

ers. And when the French court seemed bent to extirpate that sect, they were compelled, by intestine dissentions, to accede to the treaty of Edinburgh, which proved fatal to the French influence and the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland.

CHAPTER V.

Mary's administration. Religious discord. Convention of the Estates—petitioned by the General Assembly. Earl of Huntly defeated. Queen marries Lord Darnley—joins the Popish league. Murder of Rizzio. James the Sixth born. Lord Darnley murdered. Queen marries Bothwell—his fate. Mary confined in Lochleven castle. Earl of Murray Regent. James the Sixth crowned.

THE first measures of Mary's government confirmed the affections and confidence of her subjects, and tended to reconcile them to her authority. She bestowed her favours entirely through the Protestant leaders; who alone were able, she perceived, to support her administration. She invested her brother Lord James, Prior of St Andrew's, with the authority of her lieutenant. She appointed Maitland of Lethington as his deputy,—a statesman of great sagacity, but of a facile disposition. By the vigour of their measures, she endeavoured to establish order and justice among a fierce and untractable people, disaffected to law and unaccustomed to subordination.

While all parties were contending who should manifest the most dutiful attachment to the Queen, an incident occurred which displayed the zealous and turbulent spirit of the age. On the Sabbath-day after her arrival, the Queen commanded that mass should be celebrated in the chapel of her palace. The first rumour of this order occasioned secret murmuring; complaints and threatenings soon succeeded; the Queen's Catholic servants were insulted and abused; and, had not the Prior of St Andrew's seasonably interposed, the rioters might have proceeded to the greatest excesses.

"Shall we suffer that idol to be again erected within the realm?" was the common cry. Her conversion from Popery was publicly prayed for; as well as that the hearts and hands of the faithful might be strengthened to oppose all tyrants, if she evinced a disposition to persecution; and Lord Lindsay and the Protestant gentlemen of Fife even exclaimed, "The idolator shall die the death." The Prior of St Andrew's, and the other leaders of the Protestants, restrained their enthusiastic zeal; and obtained for the Queen and her

domestics the indulgence of the free exercise of their religion. Mary was not deficient in gratitude: She issued two successive proclamations, declaring, that "any attempt to alter or subvert the Protestant religion, without the sanction of the Legislature, should be considered a capital crime."

But the Queen's situation became every day more irksome: She was surrounded by a turbulent nobility, and her religion was a popular theme of declamation from the pulpits. John Knox was honoured with a royal audience; but the Queen's endeavours to awe or sooth the Reformer were unavailing. Having perceived that Elizabeth had acquired great authority over all ranks in Scotland, the Queen despatched Maitland of Lethington to London, to signify her willingness to renounce all present right to the English crown, provided she should be declared, by act of Parliament, next heir to the succession, in case of Elizabeth's decease without issue.

Maitland was likewise instructed to express his mistress's earnest desire to cultivate an amicable correspondence with the Queen of England. But Elizazeth would not condescend to name a successor, nor allow any Parliamentary interference in the matter; and, sensible that Mary's proposal would seem very reasonable, she thenceforth ceased to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh. Having no apprehensions of disturbance from Scotland, she turned an eye of observation to the great powers on the Continent.

The administration of justice and the reformation of the national police became the objects of Mary's attention. The Prior of St Andrew's was invested with extraordinary powers, as her lieutenant, for this purpose. To punish and restrain the excesses of the Borderers, the Prior, accompanied by a powerful retinue, began the execution of his commission. Numbers of the freebooters were capitally punished; which restored tranquillity and order in that part of the kingdom.

A.D. 1561. A convention of Estates was summoned, chiefly on account of ecclesiastical affairs. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which was then sitting, presented a petition to the States, requiring the suppression of Popery, and praying for a legal maintenance to the Protestant clergy, who had hitherto subsisted by the gratuitous contributions of their congregations. But the Reformers found it more difficult to excite liberality than to kindle zeal; and those nobles were now deaf to their entreaties whom formerly they had swayed with absolute authority. One hundred merks Scots (a sum equivalent to five pounds eleven shillings

Sterling) was the scanty allowance of the generality of the clergy. To a few, three hundred merks were granted. The whole revenue of the Protestant clergy was only twenty-four thousand pounds Scots.

Although the Protestants filled the cabinet, it was well known that they did not possess the Queen's confidence and affection. Various plots were contrived to ruin them. The Prior of St Andrew's had been created Earl of Murray; and was presented with the estate annexed to that title, which had been long in the possession of the Earl of Huntly. The latter, in revenge, raised the standard of insurrection, with the avowed design of being revenged on Murray, but in reality to rescue the Queen from the hands of the Protestants. At the same time, the Archbishop of St Andrew's endeavoured to unite and rouse the Papists in the South. The Queen, if not privy to this rebellion, expected to avail herself of it for the advancement of her projects. But Murray's activity and vigour defeated the machinations of his enemies. He suddenly marched from Aberdeen, whither he had attended his Sovereign; and, with a few chosen troops, attacked and defeated Huntly, who was trodden to death in the pursuit. Sir John Gordon was beheaded. Lord Gordon and his brother Adam experienced the royal clemency.

A.D. 1562. In the summer of the same year, Mary despatched Maitland to London, to desire a personal interview with Elizabeth, near the Borders. The conference was declined; for the latter was sensible that the result would be unfavourable, if she hazarded a comparison with one whom all the world declared outshone her in beauty, and who excelled in all the arts of insinuation and address.

The partiality, negligence, and avarice of those who had been intrusted with the distribution of the small fund appropriated for the maintenance of the Protestant preachers, occasioned murmurs and complaints. Petitions, drawn up by the General Assembly, were presented to the Queen, but without effect; for her Ministers, though zealous Protestants, were themselves becoming rich by the plunder of the Catholics, and they felt little sympathy for their indigent preachers.

About two years had elapsed since Mary became a widow. Her subjects were desirous that she should marry, in order that the crown might descend in a direct line from her ancestors. Her close connexion with the house of Guise, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, occasioned great jealousy to Elizabeth. They had offered their niece's hand

to the Archduke Charles, to the Duke of Anjou, to the King of Sweden, and to Don Carlos, the heir apparent to the Spanish throne. Any of these alliances would have been alarming to Elizabeth and the Scottish Protestants.

The murder of the Duke of Guise, who had involved his country in civil war, disinclined the Queen of Scots to wed a native of France. She wisely resolved to sacrifice her ambition in that instance to her people's happiness. She therefore chose for her consort Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, eldest son of the Earl of Lennox. Darnley was her cousin-german, and was, after herself, next heir to the English throne. He had been born and educated in England. On that account, Mary expected the ready and cordial approbation of Elizabeth; who had often declared, that nothing would so effectually promote a permanent union between the sister kingdoms as Mary's espousing an English nobleman.

Darnley was in the bloom and vigour of youth, very tall, but well proportioned, and skilled in the arts that display a handsome person to advantage. In his first interview with the Queen, he made a complete conquest of her heart; and it cannot be doubted, that her charms made a deep impression upon his mind. No sooner was Elizabeth informed that the preliminaries of the marriage were settled, than she exclaimed against it. She commanded Darnley, as her subject, to return to England. She seized his English estates, and threw his mother and one of his brothers into prison.

Elizabeth's political conduct, though judicious, was usually full of artifice and duplicity. By this expression of her dissatisfaction at the marriage, she hoped to alarm her partisans in Scotland; and, by their means, to raise commotions that might afford her an opportunity to become umpire between Mary and her contending subjects.

She succeeded in part. The Earl of Murray entered into a bond of confederacy and defence with several Protestant lords; and they formed the design, with Elizabeth's concurrence, of carrying Darnley into England, should they fail in retarding or frustrating the marriage. But their projects failed; for the Queen's nuptials were celebrated with the general approbation of the Scottish nation.

Convinced that they had incurred the hatred of their Sovereign, the associated lords assembled their vassals, and prepared for defence. Mary's activity and vigour defeated their intentions. She speedily collected troops, and put herself at their head. The malecontents fled to England. Elizabeth treated them very ungenerously; for, having gained

her purpose of disturbing Mary's government, she publicly disavowed all connexion with them, and banished them from her presence. It is probable, that Mary, prompted by the gentleness of her disposition, would soon have pardoned them; but she was persuaded, by Rambouillet, the French ambassador, to show them no favour.

The courts of France and Spain had entered into a conspiracy, or, as it was called, a *holy league*, to exterminate the Protestants in France and the Low Countries, and ultimately to extinguish the Reformed doctrines throughout Europe. Deeply tinctured with all the prejudices of Popery, and devoted to her uncles of Lorrain, Mary instantly joined this horrid confederacy; and the baneful effects were soon visible in her conduct. She summoned a Parliament, for the end of attainting the exiled lords; and measures were even concerted for the reëstablishment of the Roman Catholic worship in Scotland; so that the ruin of Murray and his party seemed inevitable, and the overthrow of the Protestant church in Scotland no distant event: But an unexpected incident saved both, and in the sequel proved the ruin of Mary herself.

Her marriage with Lord Darnley had been precipitately agreed to. Attracted by his youth, beauty, and exterior accomplishments, she had at first overlooked the qualities of his mind; which were very unsuitable to those of his person. In the first effusions of her fondness, she had conferred on him the title of king, and had joined his name with her own in all public acts: But, having leisure to remark his weaknesses and vices, she resolved to proceed with more prudence and reserve. Enraged by her imagined neglect, Darnley pointed his resentment against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in the Queen's behaviour.

The unfortunate object of his vengeance was David Rizzio, a person of mean birth, who had accompanied the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, and had gained admission into the Queen's family by his skill in music. Shrewd, supple, and aspiring, he quickly gained the Queen's favour, and was appointed her French secretary. He soon began to make a figure at court; and he was regarded as the Queen's chief confidant and minister. At first he had exerted himself to promote Darnley's marriage; but, in the subsequent change of the Queen's affections, it was easy for Henry's friends to persuade him that Rizzio was the real cause of her indifference.

That unfortunate man was believed to be a pensioner of

the Pope, and consequently the enemy of the Protestants and the exiled lords. Darnley communicated his resolution to be revenged on Rizzio, to the Earl of Morton, and implored his assistance and that of his friends towards the execution of his design. His proposal was readily agreed to. But as the levity of Henry was well known, the conspirators engaged him to sign a paper, promising them protection from every dangerous consequence that might ensue upon the assassination of Rizzio.

A messenger was despatched to the exiled lords, with an invitation from the King to return home. Rizzio's murder was executed almost as speedily as it had been resolved upon. Morton seized the gates of the palace, with an armed force, while Mary was at supper with the Countess of Argyll, Rizzio, and other servants. The King entered the room by a private door, and advanced to the back of the Queen's chair. Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, all armed, rushed in after him.

Terrified at their appearance, Mary demanded to know the cause of this rude intrusion. They replied, that they only meant to bring the villain Rizzio to his deserved punishment. That devoted person instantly ran behind the Queen, who was far advanced in pregnancy; and, seizing her by the waist, called aloud for her protection. She interposed in his behalf, with tears, entreaties, and menaces; but in vain: The impatient assassins rushed upon their victim, overturning every thing that stood in their way. Douglas seized Henry's dagger, and stabbed Rizzio; who was forcibly disengaged from the Queen, and, screaming with fear and agony, was dragged to the antichamber; where he was murdered.

"I shall weep no more; I shall now think of revenge!" said the Queen, drying up her tears, when informed of her favourite's fate. Apprehensive of the effects of her resentment, the assassins confined her a prisoner in the palace. The Earl of Murray, with his exiled associates, appeared two days after. A reconciliation with the Queen was easily obtained: She even received her brother with tenderness and affection. They likewise obtained an acquittal from Parliament, and were reinstated in their honours and fortunes.

Rizzio's murderers applied for a pardon; but Mary artfully avoided compliance. Meanwhile, she engaged the confidence of her husband; and, as soon as the conspirators had withdrawn her guard, she escaped with him to Dunbar, where she collected an army, and marched to Edinburgh. Desert-

ed by the King, the assassins fled to England; where they endured great poverty and distress. The Earl of Bothwell interceded in their behalf, and procured their pardon.

The Queen's hatred was implacable against her husband only. She persuaded him to publish a declaration, disclaiming all connexion with the assassins, and disavowing any participation in their crime; and having thus exposed himself to universal contempt, she threw him off with indignation and disdain. He was permitted, however, to have apartments in the castle of Edinburgh, which Mary had chosen as the most secure place during her approaching confinement.

James the Sixth was born in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 19th June 1566. Sir James Melville was despatched to announce the happy tidings to Elizabeth, who was greatly affected. Next day, she resumed her gayety and dissimulation; she thanked Melville for his haste in conveying to her the agreeable information, and professed the greatest regard for the Queen his mistress. The birth of a son to Mary gave additional courage to her partisans in England. Even men of the most opposite parties began to cry aloud for a settlement of the succession. Elizabeth determined to oppose the discussion in Parliament of so delicate a subject; but her policy and address would have been unavailing, had not Mary's indiscretion or crimes thrown her from the summit of prosperity, and plunged her into infamy and ruin.

James Earl of Bothwell, of considerable family and power in Scotland, but a man of no talents, and very profligate, had distinguished himself by his attachment to the Queen, and his opposition to the Earl of Murray and the Reformers. He had been the chief instrument in Mary's release from Rizzio's murderers; and she in return gratified him with particular marks of confidence, and elevated him to offices of power and trust. Surmises were, however, circulated, very disadvantageous to the Queen's character: Her manner of expressing her gratitude to Bothwell was universally blamed; and so strongly marked was her aversion to her husband, that he left the court, and retired to Glasgow. A disorder which seized him soon after, was ascribed to a dose of poison which it was reported had been given him. Henry himself seems to have had no suspicions of personal danger; for he readily accompanied the Queen to Edinburgh, that she might be able to attend upon him without being absent from her son.

Henry was lodged, for the benefit of retirement and air, as was pretended, in a solitary house, called Kirk of Field,* si-

* The old College, founded by the citizens in 1582, was erected on the

tuate on a rising ground not far from the palace of Holyrood-house. Mary attended him assiduously, and even slept several nights in the apartment under his chamber. But, on A.D. 1567. the 9th of February, she suddenly left the Kirk of Field, to be present at the marriage of one of her servants in the palace.

About two o'clock next morning, the whole city was much alarmed by the noise of a tremendous explosion. The consternation of the inhabitants was extreme, when they were informed that the King's residence was blown up by gunpowder, and that his dead body was found in a neighbouring enclosure. The Earl of Bothwell was generally considered as the author of this horrid murder; and suspicions were propagated that the Queen herself was privy to the crime.

Her conduct immediately after the murder evinced unaccountable apathy. Several days elapsed before any steps were taken to discover the murderers. She delayed complying with the earnest entreaties of the Earl of Lennox and the voice of the nation, to bring Bothwell to a legal and impartial trial. She permitted him to enjoy all the dignity and power, the confidence and the familiarity of a favourite. She committed to him the government of Edinburgh castle; which, with the posts he already held, gave him the entire command of the South of Scotland. She was carried off by him, seemingly with her consent, and lived with him for some time in a state of supposed violation; and, as soon as he procured a sentence of divorce from his wife, a noble and amiable young lady, the Queen of Scots publicly married this reputed ravisher and regicide.

The news of these transactions filled Europe with astonishment, and threw an odium not only on the principal actors in the guilty scene, but also on the whole Scottish nation. The Scots were universally reproached as men void of humanity and of courage—regardless of their Queen, of their reputation, and of the honour of their country, in suffering such atrocious acts to pass with impunity. These merited reproaches, with Bothwell's attempt to seize the young Prince's person, roused the Scottish nobles from their lethargy.

A considerable body of them, headed by the Earl of Athol, a known Catholic, assembled at Stirling, for the defence of the Prince's person, and for punishing the late

site of the Collegiate Church of Kirk of Field, which had been dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It had a provost and ten prebends.

King's murderers. To shelter Bothwell and herself from the impending storm, the Queen issued a proclamation, requiring her subjects to take arms and assemble around her standard, for the defence of her husband. She likewise circulated a manifesto, vindicating her government from the severe reproaches cast upon it, and expressing the most anxious concern for the safety and happiness of the Prince her son.

Neither of these measures produced any considerable effect. The associated lords had assembled an army before the Queen and Bothwell were prepared to face them. Lord Hume, with a body of eight hundred horse, suddenly surrounded the castle of Borthwick, where the Queen was: But she escaped to Dunbar; and as Bothwell had many dependants in that quarter, he speedily collected such a force as emboldened him to offer his enemies battle.

The two armies met at Carberry, about six miles from Edinburgh. Mary soon became sensible that her troops were disaffected to her cause, and were averse to encounter their countrymen. After several bravadoes of Bothwell, to vindicate his innocence, by single combat, with any of his adversaries, the Queen surrendered herself, upon some general promises, into the hands of the confederates; who conducted her to Edinburgh, amidst the insults of the populace. Overwhelmed with her calamities, she resigned herself to tears and lamentations.

Meantime, Bothwell, having fled to Dunbar, hastily fitted out some ships, and sailed for the Orkney Islands; where he subsisted for some time by piracy. Kirkaldy of Grange pursued him thither, took several of his ships, and seized some of his servants, who disclosed all the circumstances of the King's murder. Bothwell, having escaped in a boat, sailed over to Denmark; where he was thrown into prison, and died unlamented.*

The Queen, now in the hands of an enraged faction, experienced the most severe treatment. Aware of their danger should she regain her liberty and power, the confederated lords sent her next day under a strong guard to Lochleven castle, with a warrant to William Douglas, the pro-

* During his last moments, being stung with remorse, Bothwell confessed that he had been guilty of Darnley's murder; revealed the names of the persons who had been his accomplices; and, with the most solemn protestations, declared the honour and innocence of the Queen. His confession was transmitted to Queen Elizabeth by the King of Denmark; but she studiously suppressed it. Although the fact of Bothwell's confession is unquestionable, the document given by Keith and other historians has been proved to be a forgery.

prietor of that fortress, to detain her as his prisoner. The mistress of the house was the Earl of Murray's mother, who pretended to have been lawfully married to the Queen's father; and therefore she hated the unfortunate captive, and treated her with harshness and severity.

When the news of these events reached England, Elizabeth determined to interfere, in order to alleviate Mary's calamities. She despatched an ambassador, to negotiate with the Queen and her enemies: But her good offices were of little benefit to Mary, as the ambassador was denied all access to her, and the confederates eluded every proposal in her behalf. In this forlorn situation, without a counsellor or even a friend, it was natural for a woman to listen to any proposal that might shield her from immediate danger. The confederates took advantage of her distress and alarm. Their councils embraced the most severe expedients: The Protestant preachers, deeply impressed with the enormity of her guilt, and conceiving themselves authorized from the Old Testament Scriptures, inflamed the minds of the people against their unhappy Sovereign.

Under all the existing circumstances, it was deemed most eligible to establish a regency. The high honour of that office was claimed by the Earl of Lennox, who was grandfather to the young Prince. The Duke of Chatelherault urged his pretensions to the crown. But the greatest number of the associated lords gave their suffrages to elevate the Earl of Murray to the regency.

Lord Lindsay was appointed to acquaint the Queen with the general determination. She signed three instruments,—resigning the crown to her son, appointing Murray regent, and nominating a council to administer the laws till his arrival in Scotland. Mary took not the trouble to read these deeds,—persuaded that they would be considered invalid, because extorted from her during her confinement. In consequence of her resignation, the young Prince was proclaimed by the title of James the Sixth. He was crowned at Stirling; and the Earl of Morton, in his name, took the coronation-oath; in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgotten. At this ceremony, the English Ambassador declined to assist.

CHAPTER VI.

State of parties. Queen escapes—her army is defeated—she retires into England. Insidious conduct of Elizabeth. Conferences and proceedings of the English and Scottish commissioners. Murder of the Regent Murray—his character.

A. D. 1567. JAMES the SIXTH.—Though the Earl of Murray, after his return from banishment, was pardoned, and readmitted to his place in the Privy Council, he did not entirely regain the Queen's confidence. He therefore took little part in the management of public affairs, and appeared very seldom at court. Soon after the King's murder, he obtained liberty to quit the kingdom, and retired to France; where he remained till recalled by a message from the confederated lords, after Mary had subscribed the instruments by which she resigned the crown and appointed him Regent.

He arrived in Scotland soon after, and was formally invested with the regency. He visited his unfortunate sister; but his behaviour to her at that interview extinguished in her breast all affection for him. He summoned a Parliament, which ratified the Queen's resignation, and confirmed his appointment to the regency. Sir James Balfour was bribed to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, and the garrison of the castle of Dunbarton was compelled to capitulate.

Notwithstanding the apparent unanimity of all ranks in the Regent's administration, there were many secret murmurs and cabals in the kingdom. The Duke of Chatelherault, disappointed of the regency, bore no good will to Murray; and his views were embraced by his numerous friends and adherents. The rigour of the Queen's sufferings moved many who blamed her imprudence or detested her conduct, to commiserate her present condition. A party of the nobility, influenced by these different motives, met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting her interests.

While the nation seemed thus returning to sentiments of loyalty, the Queen was employed in devising means for her escape; and she succeeded in regaining her liberty, in a manner no less surprising to her friends than unexpected by her enemies. She engaged, by her address and influence, her keeper's brother, George Douglas; who, having uninterrupted access to the castle, conducted her in disguise into a small boat, and rowed her ashore. He accompanied her to Hamilton; where she was speedily attended by a train of nobles and an army of six thousand combatants. A bond

of association was signed for her defence, by nine earls, eighteen lords, nine bishops, besides many gentlemen of distinction; who declared, that the Queen's resignation, having been extorted by fear, was illegal and void.

Elizabeth, when informed of Mary's escape, despatched Maitland of Lethington into Scotland, with congratulations and promises of military support: But the Regent was so expeditious in assembling forces, that the Queen's fate was decided before any English succours could arrive. The Regent was at Glasgow, holding a court of justice, when he received information of the Queen's escape. In this dangerous exigency, although attended by a slender train, the superiority of his genius appeared: He amused the Queen for some days by pretended negotiations, while he was actively employed in collecting his friends from all parts of the kingdom. Notwithstanding his numerical inferiority, he took the field, confiding in the experience of his officers and the valour of his troops. It was the intention of the Queen's friends to conduct her to Dunbarton castle; which was commanded by Lord Fleming, one of her adherents. The road towards that fortress lay over Langside Hill; which the sagacity of the Regent led him to seize, and where he awaited the approach of the enemy. A battle was fought, which was decisively in favour of the Regent; and though, after his victory, he stopped the effusion of blood, yet the Queen's army was totally dispersed.

The afflicted Queen, who, within the space of thirteen days, had been a prisoner at the mercy of her rebellious subjects—had seen a powerful army under her command and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion—was now obliged to flee, in the utmost danger of her life, and lurk with a few attendants in a corner of her kingdom. She had beheld the engagement from a neighbouring hill; and, so strong were her impressions of fear when she saw her army broken and routed, that she fled southwards with great precipitation to the abbey of Dundrennan, in Galloway, a distance of sixty Scots miles from the field of battle.

She there deliberated upon the most eligible steps in her unhappy condition. If she remained in Scotland, she anticipated the horrors of a prison or of death. She was unprovided with the means of escaping to France; and she had even an aversion to return to that kingdom, where she had formerly appeared with so much splendour. The late generous behaviour of Elizabeth afforded some hope of protection and assistance from that Princess; and in this confidence,

she overlooked all other considerations, and resolved to take shelter in England.

Notwithstanding the entreaties and remonstrances of Lord Herries and the Archbishop of St Andrew's, the royal fugitive, with about twenty attendants, embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington, in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle. She instantly despatched a messenger to London, announcing her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and soliciting her protection.

Elizabeth, who had secretly taken part in all the machinations of her enemies, had now gained a great object of her ambition. She had in her hands a hated rival; and, by her support of Murray and his party, the absolute command of the kingdom of Scotland. Yet policy required some show of friendship and humanity to Mary; who claimed, as a suppliant, her protection and support. She professed her desire to do her justice; but observed, that while the Queen of Scots lay under the imputation of a crime so horrid as the murder of her husband, she could not admit her to an audience. She therefore required that Mary should clear herself of the crimes alleged against her; when she might depend upon a reception suitable to her dignity, and support proportioned to her necessities.

Mary was overwhelmed with surprise and grief at so unexpected a refusal: But she had no choice left her; and therefore she agreed to submit her cause to so good a friend, in the full confidence of justifying herself from all imputations. It was to this point that Elizabeth wished to bring the matter; and she now began to act as umpire between the Queen of Scots and her rebellious subjects. Elizabeth immediately sent a messenger to the Earl of Murray, requiring him to desist from the prosecution of the Queen's party, and to delegate some persons to justify his conduct against his Sovereign.

The Regent was startled at a summons so violent and imperious: But he chose rather to digest the affront than to provoke Elizabeth by a refusal; and he replied, that he would himself take a journey to London, attended by other commissioners, and would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth. Mary, who had hitherto been too credulous and unsuspicious, now plainly perceived the snare laid for her. She therefore retracted the offer she had made, and declined making any reply to the accusations of her subjects; though she was ready, of her own accord, and out of

friendship to Elizabeth, to satisfy her scruples, as her nearest relation and dearest friend: Otherwise she considered Elizabeth bound by the laws of honour and the ties of kindred to protect her in her present helpless condition, until she could obtain the aid of other potentates; and Lord Herries, in Mary's name, requested present aid from England, or liberty for his Queen to pass over to France.

Though disconcerted by this unexpected obstruction, Elizabeth was not to be diverted from the prosecution of her design. She submitted the affair to the Privy Council; who agreed, that she could not, consistently with her own honour, or with the safety of her kingdom, either give Mary the assistance she required, or permit her to leave the kingdom. It was also deemed necessary to remove the royal captive, for greater security, to Bolton castle, in Yorkshire. Her removal thence cut off all prospect of escape, and rendered it more difficult to correspond with her friends in Scotland.

Mary had already experienced the privations and miseries of imprisonment. Elizabeth availed herself of the captive's impatience and fears, to extort her consent to the intended trial. She represented to Mary, that she desired only to enter into the question as a friend, and to hear her justification; that she was confident there could be no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; that it was never meant she should be cited to a trial at the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but, on the contrary, that they should be summoned to justify their conduct towards her. Allured by these plausible professions, Mary agreed to vindicate herself by commissioners.

While the English court was employed in these deliberations, the Regent Murray neglected not to improve his victory at Langside. At first he resolved to proceed against his prisoners and the Queen's partisans with the greatest rigour. On this occasion, John Knox humanely interceded for six persons condemned to death, and procured their pardon. Murray marched with five thousand troops into the West of Scotland, with the intention of reducing the Hamiltons, and laying waste their estates; but he disbanded his forces, in compliance with the wishes of Elizabeth.

He afterwards called a Parliament, to obtain a legal sanction for attainting those nobles who refused to acknowledge the King's authority. Argyll and Huntly, whom Mary had appointed her lieutenants, began to assemble their forces, to prevent the meeting of Parliament; and their opposition

might have proved fatal to the Regent's power, had not Mary commanded them to lay down their arms. When the Parliament assembled, a few of the Queen's partisans were punished with the loss of property; the rest were allowed still to hope for favour.

The conferences respecting the Queen of Scots were opened at York. The Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, appeared on behalf of Elizabeth, to hear the accusation of Murray, and the Queen's defence. The Earls of Murray and Morton, Lord Lindsay, the Bishop of Orkney, and the Commendator of Dunfermline, appeared as Mary's accusers; Maitland of Lethington, Macgill of Rankeillor, Belnaves of Hallhill, with the celebrated George Buchanan the historian, attended as their assistants. On the Queen's part, appeared Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herries, the Bishop of Ross, Hamilton Commendator of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon, and Sir James Cockburn.

Before Mary's commissioners gave in their complaints against her enemies in Scotland, they entered a protest, stating, that their appearance in this cause should not be understood as compromising the dignity of her crown, or as an admission of subordination to England.

During the conference at York, the Queen's commissioners seemed to triumph, as the Regent had cautiously declined accusing her of any participation in the guilt of her husband's murder. His circumspection was prudent; for, in accusing her of a crime so atrocious, he must necessarily incur her implacable resentment; and, should she ever regain her liberty and crown, his fortune and life might be endangered. Besides, Elizabeth, from regard to her kinswoman, and her jealousy in maintaining the rights of sovereigns, might feel inclined, how criminal soever Mary might appear, to restore her to her throne; and the Duke of Norfolk, the most powerful of the English nobles, had been smitten with Mary's beauty, and conceived the design of marrying her and ascending the throne of Scotland. In that ambitious project, he had gained the concurrence of Maitland of Lethington.

Murray therefore demanded of the English commissioners, whether they were invested with authority to pronounce sentence against the Queen, in case her guilt should be fully proved,—whether they would presume to exercise that authority, and deliver an actual sentence without delay,—whether she should be delivered into the hands of the Regent, or be so effectually restrained by confinement, that she would be unable to disturb the government now established

in Scotland,—and whether Elizabeth would presume to acknowledge the young King, and protect the Regent in his authority?

These propositions were far from agreeable to Elizabeth; but, instead of resolving them, she removed the conference to Westminster, and appointed new commissioners, in whom she could more firmly confide. She likewise admitted the Regent to an audience, and treated him with the most flattering respect. Encouraged by the assurances of Elizabeth's protection, he laid aside his reserve, and charged the Queen of Scots with being accessory to the contrivance and execution of her husband's murder. The Earl of Lennox, supporting this accusation, appeared before the English commissioners, and craved vengeance for the blood of his son.

But Elizabeth was dissatisfied with accusations only; she wished to obtain evidence. Her commissioners therefore expressed her indignation at the Regent's presumption in accusing his sovereign of such atrocious crimes. Murray, thus arraigned in his turn, produced some love-letters and sonnets* from Mary to Bothwell, containing strong proofs of her guilt. Stunned by this unexpected blow, Mary's commissioners endeavoured to change the inquiry into a negotiation; but finding it impracticable, they finally broke off the conference, without making any reply.

Having obtained these evidences of Mary's guilt, Elizabeth treated her with less delicacy, and issued orders for her removal to Tutbury in Staffordshire. She wrote to her as if the presumptions of her guilt had amounted to proof; and she expected that such a discovery of her sentiments would intimidate the poor captive, and constrain her to confirm her resignation of the crown. But that high-spirited Princess replied, "Rather than give away spontaneously the crown which has descended to me from my ancestors, I will part with life. The last words that I shall utter shall be those of Queen of Scotland."

After the attention of both nations had been anxiously turned towards this conference for some months, and the most important results had been anticipated, Elizabeth declared her resolution of leaving the affairs of Scotland as she found them at the beginning of the inquiry. Notwithstanding such a conclusion appears trifling and ridiculous, it was quite consistent with Elizabeth's policy; for she resolved to detain Mary a prisoner in England, and she hoped the proofs

* For the genuineness of the sonnets, the reader may consult Lord Hailes's Annals of Scotland, Vol. iii. p. 85.

of her guilt would apologize for the severity of her treatment.

As Mary had put an end to the conference, the Regent evinced great impatience to return home. His enemies, taking advantage of his absence, were endeavouring to raise commotions. But, before his departure, he had an audience of Elizabeth; who assured him of her favour and support, and gave him five thousand pounds to bear the charges of his journey. She, however, declined acknowledging the young King of Scots, or treating with Murray as Regent of Scotland. Mary complained of Elizabeth's partiality; and recriminated upon the Regent, by accusing him of having devised and excited the murder of the late King.

Enraged at the repeated instances of Elizabeth's artifices and deceit, Mary endeavoured to raise her adherents in Scotland to arms. She caused a report to be circulated, that Murray had agreed to convey the young Prince into England, to surrender the fortresses in Scotland to Elizabeth, and to acknowledge the superiority of England. To counteract the mischievous tendency of these wild and chimerical reports, Elizabeth published a counter proclamation.

With the view of strengthening the Queen's party, the court of France sent over the Duke of Chatelherault into Scotland, with a sum of money, to be distributed in gaining friends to her cause or for neutralizing the exertions of her enemies. Mary invested the Duke with the authority of her lieutenant-general in Scotland, together with the fantastic title of her adopted father. But the Duke's natural imbecility and irresolution, the blow which his adherents had received at Langside, the vigour and celerity of the Regent's motions, dispirited and disunited his efforts.

An accommodation was effected between the hostile factions, upon terms mutually advantageous for both parties. Argyll and Huntly refused to be included in the treaty, as they expected succours from France. The Regent instantly commanded his guards to seize the Duke of Chatelherault and Lord Herries, and imprisoned them in the castle of Edinburgh. A blow so unexpected and decisive, produced immediate tranquillity.

The Duke of Norfolk, who was popular with all parties in England, now openly avowed his design of marrying the Queen of Scots. He had obtained the concurrence of many of the English nobles, and even the approbation of the Regent, in his ambitious design: But that scheme, like every other formed for the relief of the captive Queen, had an un-

fortunate issue. Norfolk was committed to the Tower, and Mary was removed to Coventry; where her imprisonment was rendered more painful by an excess of intolerance and rigour. These transactions were succeeded by an attempt to restore the Queen of Scots by force of arms. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland had warmly espoused her interest. They aimed at bringing about a change in the religion, and a revolution in the government of the kingdom; and they were encouraged to hope for success, by a promise of money and troops from the King of Spain. Elizabeth, minutely informed of these schemes, concerted her measures with so much prudence and vigour, that the chiefs of the conspiracy fled to Scotland, and the common people dispersed themselves without striking a blow.

Sensible of the danger attending the captive Queen's continuance in England, Elizabeth opened a negotiation with the Regent, for delivering Mary into his hands; whose security, no less than Elizabeth's, depended on preventing Mary from ascending the throne. Against this proposal, the French and Spanish ambassadors and the Bishop of Ross remonstrated, representing the Queen's surrender into the hands of her rebellious subjects as equivalent to condemnation and death. A delay was thus occasioned; and the project was finally abandoned, by the sudden death of the Regent; who was assassinated at Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, in revenge of a private injury. That excuse was alleged by his party to diminish the odium of his crime; but there is ample proof that he was instigated to the foul deed by the political faction with which he was connected.

A. D. 1570.

The character of the Regent has been variously drawn. His early adoption of the Reformed opinions, the steadiness with which he adhered to them, the uniform correctness of his morals, his integrity, sagacity, and enterprising but cool courage, soon placed him in the first rank among those who struggled for the reformation of religion and the defence of civil liberty. In him were united those qualities which are rarely combined in the same person: He excelled equally in the arts of war and peace; he reduced the country to obedience by his valour and skill, and he preserved it in a state of tranquillity and order by his impartial administration of justice. He never tarnished the laurels of victory by cruelty to the vanquished; and the awards of justice were blended with mercy. He was hospitable and liberal; but he enriched not himself nor his family by the plunder of the public.

He was long affectionately remembered by the common people as the *Good Regent*.

He has been accused by his enemies of conduct inconsistent with honour or loyalty, and of sacrificing his principles to his ambitious policy.

The affairs of the church, amidst so many surprising events, continued to prosper; and its General Assemblies were regularly held. As the number of the Protestant clergy daily increased, the deficiency of funds for their subsistence became greater, and was more sensibly felt. Many efforts were made towards recovering the ancient patrimony of the church; which many of the Popish clergy had contrived to retain. Though the Regent received the addresses and complaints of the church very graciously, no effectual relief was afforded, and liberal promises were all that could be obtained.

CHAPTER VII.

Lennox Regent. Capture of Dunbarton castle. Hostile factions—their proceedings. Lennox killed. Marr succeeds him—his death. Morton Regent. Death and character of Knox. Execution of Morton. The Raid of Ruthven. James regains his liberty. Gowrie executed. Exiled lords capture Stirling castle, with James. Catholic conspiracy against Elizabeth.

On the death of the Earl of Murray, Scotland relapsed into a state of barbarity. The Queen's party for a while seemed to triumph. At length, by the recommendation of Elizabeth, which was seconded by an armed force, the Earl of Lennox was chosen Regent. After being tantalized for ten months with the hopes of liberty, Mary found herself under stricter custody than ever. Conceiving herself abandoned by the court of France, she corresponded with Philip of Spain; who supplied herself and her friends in Scotland with money.

A scheme for rescuing Mary and overturning the English government, was concerted by the Bishop of Ross, the Spanish ambassador, and Ridolphi, an agent of the Pope. It was proposed, that the Duke of Alva should land ten thousand men in England; that the Duke of Norfolk, who had renewed his engagements with Mary, should join his friends, together with the English Catholics; and that the combined forces should march to London, and oblige Elizabeth to submit to whatever conditions they might impose. The English nation was delivered from the threatened danger by the discovery of the plot to Lord Burleigh. Norfolk was seized,

condemned, and executed; the Bishop of Ross was committed to the Tower; the Spanish ambassador was commanded to leave the kingdom; and Ridolphi, being abroad, escaped the arm of vengeance.

The unfortunate Queen of Scots, who had been the immediate or remote cause of these commotions, was treated with greater severity and less respect. The number of her domestics was diminished, and no person was permitted to see her but in the presence of her keepers. The English Commons were so enraged, that they voted an address to Elizabeth, praying that Mary might be tried and capitally punished.

The state of her affairs in Scotland was very unpromising. Dunbarton castle, the only fortress in the kingdom that owned her authority, was surprised and taken by Captain Crawford of Jordanhill. Its situation, on the top of a high rock rising in the middle of a plain, rendered it, in the opinion of that age, impregnable; and as it commanded the river Clyde, it was deemed the most eligible landing-place in the kingdom for any foreign troops sent to Mary's aid.

A. D. 1571. A deserter from the garrison suggested to the Regent that the capture of this fortress by stratagem was a practicable enterprise; and he offered to be the guide of the assailants. The attempt was successful. By the help of scaling-ladders, Crawford and his companions had ascended the rock and reached the parapet when the morning began to dawn. The astonished garrison, though then alarmed, were incapable of making resistance; while the assailants seized the cannon and turned them against their enemies. Of the garrison, only Lord Fleming escaped in a boat to Argyllshire.

Crawford, whose valour was rewarded with the command of the castle, seized in it the Archbishop of St Andrew's. That prelate had been long odious to the King's party, by his zeal, abilities, and profession. The Regent Lennox hated him as the supporter of the house of Hamilton, his hereditary enemy. The Archbishop was carried to Stirling; and as he had been formerly attainted by act of Parliament, he was, without any formal trial, executed on the fourth day after he was taken. He was the first bishop of Scotland who died by the hands of the executioner.

The loss of Dunbarton castle and the execution of the Archbishop, enraged the Queen's party to the highest degree. Kirkaldy, the governor of Edinburgh castle, seized the metropolis, mounted a battery on the steeple of St

Giles, repaired and fortified the walls and gates, and issued a proclamation denouncing the authority of the Regent as usurped and unlawful. Huntly, Home, and Herries, assembled with their followers at Edinburgh, which they garrisoned.

Meantime, the Regent was not inactive. His troops, under the command of the Earl of Morton, seized and fortified Leith. There was, however, no decisive operation on either side. Morton was unprovided with cannon for besieging the city or the castle, and his enemies were not sufficiently numerous to meet him in the field.

The factions which divided the kingdom were in appearance only two; and both were influenced by religious considerations. The Prince's adherents defended his authority as the best support of the Protestant religion: The Queen's partisans hoped, by her restoration, to reëstablish Popery. Between these parties, the opposition was violent and irreconcileable. The sympathies of nature and the ties of consanguinity were alike destroyed by political hatred.

That the proceedings of both factions might wear the appearance of legal authority, the nobles and chiefs who respectively adhered to them, assembled in different Parliaments. Only three peers and two bishops assembled in the Queen's Parliament at Edinburgh: But contemptible as was their appearance, they boldly passed an act attainting two hundred of the Prince's friends who were assembled at Stirling. Their spirited proceedings were succeeded by a bold and hazardous enterprise.

In the midst of all the security which their rank and number inspired, Lennox and his partisans were surprised at Stirling, early on the morning of the 3d September, by the shouts of the enemy in the heart of the town. In a moment, the houses of the principal nobility were surrounded and their inmates secured. No resistance was made by any one except the Earl of Morton; who defended his house till he was forced out of it by the flames.

The noise and uproar in the town reached the castle. The Earl of Marr, with only thirty soldiers, sallied out and fired upon the enemy; of whom the officers only kept together in a body, the private men having dispersed in quest of plunder. The townsmen quickly armed themselves, and joined the Earl of Marr; when the assailants, in their turn, panic-struck or overpowered, fled or surrendered themselves. Lennox was killed, as was supposed, by command of Lord Claud Hamilton. "Think on the Archbishop of St Andrew's!" was the

cry of the Queen's friends; and the Regent fell a sacrifice to his memory.

Marr was elected to the regency; and concluded a truce with the Queen's party, by means of the French and English ambassadors: But he was unfit for the storms of faction which desolated the kingdom. Being a nobleman of a generous spirit, he was so affected with melancholy at the distracted state of his country, that he died. He was succeeded in the regency by the Earl of Morton, who acted in concert with Elizabeth; and she in return exerted herself more openly for the King's interests than she had hitherto done.

A. D. 1572.

Towards the end of this year died John Knox, in the sixty-seventh year of his age—not so much oppressed with years as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labours of body and anxieties of mind. It may not be uninteresting to glance at the fortunes and character of this great man. Few men were ever exposed to more dangers, or underwent more hardships than Knox. Obliged to flee from St Andrew's to escape the fury of Cardinal Beaton, he found a retreat in East Lothian, from which he was hunted by Archbishop Hamilton. He lived several years an outlaw, in daily apprehension of falling a prey to those who eagerly sought his life.

The few months during which he enjoyed protection in the castle of St Andrew's, were succeeded by a long and rigorous captivity. After enjoying some repose in England, he was again driven into banishment, and for five years wandered as an exile on the Continent; and when he returned to his native country, it was to engage in a struggle of the most perilous and arduous kind. He was repeatedly condemned for heresy, and proclaimed an outlaw; thrice he was accused of treason; and on two of these occasions, he appeared and underwent a public trial. A price was publicly set on his head; assassins were employed to kill him; and his life was attempted both with the pistol and the dagger. Yet he escaped all these perils, and finished his course in peace and in honour.

He was interred in the churchyard of St Giles. His funeral was attended by the newly-erected Regent, by all the nobility who were in the city, and a great concourse of people. When his body was laid in the grave, Morton emphatically pronounced his eulogium, "*There lies he who never feared the face of man;*" which was the more honourable for Knox, as it came from one whom he had often censured. Knox was

of small stature, and of a weakly habit of body; which must serve to give a higher idea of the vigour of his mind.

The prominent features of his character were zeal, intrepidity, and disinterestedness. His mind was inquisitive, ardent, acute, and vigorous; and the truths which he discovered, he felt an irresistible impulse to impart to others; for which he was eminently qualified, by a bold, fervid, and impetuous eloquence; and to which he was always ready to sacrifice his ease, his interest, his reputation, and his life. To an unfeigned love of the Reformed religion, he added an ardent attachment to civil liberty. The zeal with which he laboured to advance these objects was of the most disinterested kind. His integrity was above the suspicion of corruption; his firmness was proof against the solicitations of friends and the threats of enemies.

His faults may be traced to his natural temperament, and the spirit of the age and country in which he lived. The warmth of his zeal was apt to betray him into intemperate language; his inflexible adherence to his opinions inclined to obstinacy; and his independence of mind occasionally assumed the appearance of haughtiness and disdain. But though he was austere, he was not unfeeling; though stern and vehement, he was not savage nor vindictive, for in no instance did he employ his influence to revenge any personal injury.

In personal intrepidity and popular eloquence, Knox resembled Luther; in religious sentiments and austerity of manners, he resembled Calvin; and in his ardent attachment to civil liberty, he resembled Zuinglius. Although he cannot be placed on a level with these distinguished characters, he is entitled to stand next to them, for the abilities with which he was endowed, and the important services which he rendered to his country and to mankind.

From the time that he raised the standard of truth in his native country till Death relaxed his grasp, he never shrunk from danger—never entered into any compromise with the enemy; but, keeping his eye singly and steadily fixed on the advancement of religion and liberty, supported throughout the character of the REFORMER OF SCOTLAND.*

The captive Queen's influence rapidly declined in both kingdoms, in consequence of Elizabeth's avowed partiality for the King's interests. Her partisans in Scotland were glad to submit to the King's authority, and accept of an indemnity for all past offences. Kirkaldy, who commanded

* M'Crie's Life of Knox, ii. 250—260.

Edinburgh castle, alone scorned to submit. Sir William Drury marched from Berwick with troops and cannon, and reduced the castle, after a siege of thirty days: But, contrary to the articles of capitulation, Kirkaldy was delivered into the hands of Morton, who commanded him to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh. Maitland of Lethington soon after died a voluntary death.

The tranquillity which succeeded was of short duration. The nobles were divided into factions; the Regent's avarice excited disaffection to his authority; and the Protestant clergy complained of encroachments on their narrow revenue, which increased the discontents of the other orders. Finding his situation untenable, Morton resigned his authority into the hands of the young King; who, though but eleven years of age, assumed the administration.

Tired of the inactivity of private life, Morton appeared again at court, and acquired a great ascendant in the council; for though he resumed not the title of Regent, he exercised all the authority of that office. The opposite party took up arms on pretence of delivering their Prince from captivity; but a reconciliation was effected by the English ambassador.

The Count d'Aubigney, cousin-german to the Prince's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young man of good address and a sweet disposition, he was despatched to Scotland by the Duke of Guise, in order to detach James from the English faction. The accomplished Frenchman no sooner appeared at Stirling, than he gained the affection of the young Monarch. Connecting himself with James Stewart of the house of Ochiltree, a man of indifferent character, who was a Royal favourite, he represented to the King the injustice that had been done to his mother in her deposition and subsequent confinement. James listened to these suggestions; and, notwithstanding his remonstrances, Morton was arrested, accused as an accomplice in the late King's murder, and condemned to suffer as a traitor.

The unfortunate nobleman admitted that Bothwell had communicated to him the atrocious design: but he pleaded that the Queen had acquiesced, and desired his concurrence; and he denied that he had ever expressed any approbation of the murder.

Apprized of Morton's condemnation, Elizabeth interceded in his behalf; and, to enforce her arguments, she ordered a military force to the Borders. The Earls of Argyll, Marr,

Angus, Montrose, and Glencairn, entered into an engagement to defend the prisoner's life, even by force of arms. But those measures served only to hasten his execution. He submitted to his fate with great fortitude, and left a reputation less sullied through incapacity than from want of probity and virtue.

The influence of the Royal favourites over the young King was but an insecure foundation of authority, while the majority of the nobles and all the clergy were discontented with their administration. A solemn fast was appointed by the Assembly of the Church, on account of the danger to which the church and the kingdom were exposed from the pernicious example of the King's counsellors. A conspiracy of the nobles was formed for seizing James's person; and the design being kept secret, succeeded without opposition. Of this conspiracy, the leaders were the Earls of Marr and Gowrie, the Lords Lindsay and Boyd, the Masters of Oliphant and Glencairn, with several ecclesiastics.

When the King found himself detained a prisoner, he wept; but the Master of Glammis observed, sarcastically, "No matter for his tears; better that boys weep than bearded men." These words the King never forgave: He found it prudent, however, to submit to his present condition. A Convention of the Estates, and an Assembly of the Church, were convoked to ratify the security of the conspirators. A protracted and fruitless negotiation for Mary's release and restoration to a limited authority, was opened between the French and English ambassadors; but the Privy Council of Scotland, influenced by the ecclesiastics, rejected all treaty of accommodation.

James remained not long in captivity: Impatient of restraint, he made his escape to St Andrew's, where he summoned his friends to attend him. The Earls of Argyll, Montrose, and Rothes, hastened to pay their duty to their Sovereign; while the conspirators Angus, Hamilton, Marr, and Glammis, fled to England, and were protected by Elizabeth. The Earl of Gowrie, though pardoned for his late offence, was kept in prison; and, on some new accusation, was condemned and executed.

Arran, the Royal favourite, who had been confined, was now released, and recalled to court. His cruel and vindictive temper seems not to have been mollified by his misfortunes. Many innocent persons suffered from his tyranny; but his violent conduct soon rendered the party of the exiled lords very popular. Being assisted by Elizabeth, they made

two successive attempts on Stirling castle, whither the King had fled for refuge; and prevailed. They obtained pardon soon after, and were reinstated in their honours and fortunes; while the Royal minions were dismissed. Arran was degraded from authority, deprived of the estate and title he had usurped; and Elizabeth, pleased with this change of affairs, maintained a good correspondence with the new court and ministry of James.

The threatening aspect of foreign relations, induced Elizabeth to cultivate the friendship of the young King; and the more effectually to accomplish her purpose, she prevailed upon him to accept of a pension, equivalent to his claim upon the inheritance of his grandmother the Countess of Lennox, lately deceased. A treaty of mutual defence was also concluded, as the religion and liberty of both kingdoms were openly menaced by the combination of all the Catholic princes in Europe.

The rigorous restraints that had been imposed upon the captive Queen of Scots, pushed her into enterprises which threatened the repose and authority of Elizabeth. Her impatience of revenge concurring with religious zeal, engaged her in designs which afforded her vigilant enemies a pretence for effecting her final ruin.

The English seminary at Rheims had wrought themselves to a high pitch of rage against Elizabeth. Intoxicated with admiration of the power and infallibility of the Pope, who had excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth, these fanatics regarded her assassination as the most meritorious of all enterprises; and they taught, that they who perished in an attempt so pious, should certainly obtain the glorious and incorruptible crown of martyrdom.

There soon appeared wretches who were daring enough to undertake the perilous enterprise. One John Savage made a vow to attempt the life of Elizabeth. For this purpose, he was sent over to England, with recommendations to the more zealous Catholics. About the same time, John Ballard, a priest of the seminary at Rheims, formed the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and restoring the Catholic religion in England by force of arms. Under the assumed name of Captain Fortescue, he came to England, and bent his endeavours to effect at once an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion.

Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of Derbyshire, was the first person in England to whom Ballard disclosed his intentions. Babington was a zealous Catholic. He had

been persuaded, while on a visit at Paris, to interest himself in Mary's deliverance; and, after his return, he was recommended to the captive Queen as a person worth engaging in her service. She therefore wrote him a letter, full of friendship and confidence. Ardent in his temper and zealous in his principles, Babington considered that he was bound in honour to devote himself entirely to her service. Encouraged by his ready acquiescence, Ballard discovered to him the design of Savage; and was pleased to observe, that, instead of being shocked at the diabolical purpose, he thought it insecure while intrusted to a single hand: He therefore proposed to join five others with Savage, in the desperate undertaking. So meritorious did he reckon it, and so confident was he of success, that he caused a picture to be drawn, in which he was represented standing amidst his six confederates, with a motto importing that their common danger was the bond of their fidelity.

In pursuance of his design, Babington successfully employed himself in increasing the number of his associates; and he secretly drew into the conspiracy many Catholic gentlemen discontented with the present government. On the same day that Elizabeth was to be assassinated, Babington proposed, with the aid of one hundred horse, to rescue Mary from her guards, whilst she was airing on horseback.

These diabolical designs were happily detected by the vigilance of Walsingham, the secretary of state, who had engaged two persons to insinuate themselves into the confidence of the conspirators. But the extent of the ramifications was not fully discovered, till Giffard, a seminary priest, came over to England and made a tender of his services to Walsingham. Babington and his associates engaged this priest to communicate their designs to the captive Queen, and to obtain her approbation.

Their letters were conveyed to her through a chink of the wall of her apartment, by means of a brewer who supplied the family with ale. Her answers were returned in the same manner; in which Mary expressed her approbation of the exertions of her friends; assuring them of her favour, and of all the rewards it should ever be in her power to confer upon them.

All these letters were carried by Giffard to the Secretary; and they were deciphered by means of Philips his clerk. To obtain full insight into the plot, a postscript, in the same hand and cipher, was subjoined to a letter of Mary's, desiring Babington to inform her of the names of the English gentle-

men engaged in the conspiracy; which was complied with. Elizabeth was furnished with a copy of the picture representing the active conspirators, that she might know them, and guard herself against their approach to her person.

The Privy Council determined to delay the punishment of these miscreants no longer. Ballard was apprehended: The other conspirators, alarmed, disguised themselves, and lay concealed in barns and woods; but they were speedily discovered, and thrown into prison. The leaders made a full confession: Fourteen of them were condemned and executed.

A new and extraordinary scene followed. Elizabeth and her ministers determined to bring Mary to a public trial, as being accessory to the conspiracy. Her papers were accordingly seized, her principal domestics arrested, and her two secretaries sent prisoners to London. Forty commissioners, with five other judges, were sent by the English court to Fotheringay castle, where Mary was confined, to hear and decide this great cause.

CHAPTER VIII.

Trial of Queen Mary—she is condemned—and executed. Her character.

Mary was apprized of the arrival and authority of the commissioners, without any visible emotion. She said that it seemed strange to her, that Elizabeth should command her, as a subject, to submit to an examination and trial before subjects; that she was an absolute independent princess, and would yield nothing that might derogate from her royal majesty, or from the rank and dignity of her son; that, however oppressed by misfortunes, her spirit was not so much broken as her enemies flattered themselves; that though she had lived in England many years, she had lived in captivity, without having received the protection of the laws; and that she warned her enemies and judges to look to their consciences and characters,—to reflect that their transactions would be subject to revisal, and that the theatre of the whole world was much more extensive than the kingdom of England.

She was, however, persuaded to appear before the commissioners, "to hear and to give answer to the accusations that should be preferred against her;" but she still refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court. The Chancellor vindicated his authority, by pleading the supreme jurisdic-

tion of the English laws over every one who resided in England.

The crown lawyers then opened the charge against her. They proved, by intercepted letters, that she had allowed herself to be addressed as Queen of England; that she had corresponded with some noblemen, in the view of engaging the Spaniards to invade the kingdom; that she had proposed to transfer her right to the crown of England to Philip of Spain, should her son refuse to become a Catholic; and that she had concurred in the design of assassinating Elizabeth.

The chief evidence against the Queen arose from the declaration of her servants; for no proof could be otherwise adduced, that the letters from Babington were delivered into her hands, or that any answer was returned by her direction. Mary affirmed that the witnesses would never in her presence persist in their evidence. She therefore demanded that they should be confronted with her; and she concluded with the most solemn denial of having ever entertained or concurred in the alleged design against Elizabeth's life. Her objections were overruled, and her requests evaded.

Having finished the trial, the commissioners adjourned; and soon after met in the Star Chamber, London; where they delivered their verdict of *guilty* against Mary, and attested their verdict by their seals and superscriptions. Sentence of death was then pronounced against the captive Queen; but a declaration was published on the same day by the judges, that "this sentence did nowise affect or derogate from the title and honour of James King of Scotland; and that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced."

Notwithstanding Elizabeth had now brought affairs with Mary to that crisis which she had long ardently desired, she felt a reluctance to execute the sentence. She foresaw the unfavourable light in which her conduct might be represented by Mary's numerous friends, by all foreign princes, and by posterity. She therefore resisted the solicitations of her ministers and courtiers; and she affirmed that her people's safety only induced her to hesitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries she had received from the Queen of Scots.

That the execution of the sentence might appear to be the general wish of the nation, Elizabeth summoned a new Parliament; which unanimously voted an address, praying that the sentence might be executed without delay; and this resolution was published by proclamation. Though the captive Queen was informed of these proceedings, she continued un-

moved. Paulet her keeper received orders to take down her canopy, and to serve her no longer with the respect due to a sovereign princess: Even this harsh treatment produced no apparent sensation.

Mary wrote her last letter to Elizabeth, full of dignity, yet temperately, requesting some trifling indulgences to her servants; and requiring that her body might be delivered after her death to her attendants, to be conveyed by them to France, there to repose in a Catholic land, with the sacred remains of her mother. To this letter Elizabeth made no answer.

No sooner was Mary's sentence generally known, than great efforts were made by foreign princes to prevent its execution. The young King of Scots wrote a letter to Elizabeth, remonstrating in very severe terms against the injustice of the whole procedure. The Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melville were despatched to enforce the remonstrance, and to accompany their arguments with menaces.

In order to alarm the English, rumours were circulated that the Spanish fleet was arrived at Milfordhaven—that the Scots had made an irruption into England—that a powerful French army was landed in Sussex—that Mary had escaped from prison—that a conspiracy was formed to assassinate Elizabeth and burn London. Elizabeth, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, ordered Davidson her secretary to draw out privately the warrant for Mary's execution. She signed it; and then commanded him to carry it to the Chancellor, in order to have the great seal appended to it. Next day, she countermanded that order; and when informed that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she appeared to be moved, and blamed her secretary's precipitation. The Privy Council being informed of the whole transaction, persuaded Davidson to send off Beale with the warrant to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent; who were commanded to see it executed.

The Earls went to Fotheringay castle, informed Mary of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death by eight o'clock next morning. She replied, with a smiling countenance, that she did not expect that the Queen her sister would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. "But as such is her will," said she, "death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felici-

ties of heaven, which cannot support the body under the terrors of the last passage to the blissful mansions."

She requested of the two noblemen, that some of her servants, and particularly her confessor, might be permitted to attend her in her last moments; but they replied, that her confessor was unnecessary, as the Dean of Peterborough would attend and instruct her in the principles of the true religion. Mention being made of Babington's conspiracy, she solemnly denied any participation in it; but she resigned the revenge of her wrongs into the hands of the Almighty.

When the Earls had retired, she ordered her supper to be hastened, that she might have a little leisure to finish the settlement of her affairs, and to prepare for her passage to another world. She supped sparingly, but with her wonted cheerfulness. She called in all her servants, and drank to them: They pledged her in order; and on their knees craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty. She deigned in return to ask their forgiveness for her offences towards them; and this last solemn farewell was attended by a plentiful effusion of tears.

She ordered the inventory of her jewels and clothes to be brought her; and she wrote down after every article, to whom she wished it bequeathed. To some of her servants she even distributed money with her own hands, adapting the recompense to their different degrees of rank and merit. At her wonted hour, she retired to rest, and slept calmly a few hours: Then rising early, she spent the morning in prayer. Aware that her confessor would not be permitted to attend her, she had taken the precaution to procure a consecrated host from Pope Pius; and she reserved the use of it for this last period of her life.

At the appointed hour, Thomas Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered her apartment, and informed her that her hour was come. She replied, that she was ready; and bidding her servants adieu, she followed the Sheriff with a serene countenance, leaning on two of her guards, on account of an infirmity in her limbs, the effect of long confinement. In passing through an adjoining hall, she was met by Sir Andrew Melville, her steward; who sunk on his knees and wept aloud. "Ah, Madam!" said he, wringing his hands, "unhappy me, that I must be the messenger of such heavy tidings when I return to my native country, and report that I saw my Queen beheaded in England!"

Mary felt herself moved. "Cease, my good servant," said she; "cease to lament: Thou hast cause rather to rejoice;

thou shalt see the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their long-expected completion. Know that all the world at best is but vanity, and subject still to more sorrow than a whole ocean of tears is able to bewail. But I pray thee carry this message from me, that I die true to my religion, unalterable in my affections towards Scotland and France; and may heaven forgive them who have long thirsted for my blood!"

She then reclined herself with weeping eyes, and a face bedewed with tears, and kissed him. "And so," said she, "good Melville, farewell! Once again, farewell, good Melville! and grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy Queen and mistress!" She passed into another hall, where the scaffold was erected and covered with black cloth, and beheld with an undismayed air the executioners and all the preparations of death.

The hall was crowded with spectators; who were greatly moved when they reflected on her royal dignity and her accumulated miseries,—when they surveyed her beauty, which, though faded by years and afflictions, beamed as the setting sun in that fatal moment. After the warrant for her execution was read to her, the Dean of Peterborough began a long discourse, exhorting her to repentance and a renunciation of the Catholic faith. She could not sometimes forbear betraying her impatience, by interrupting the preacher.

When he had finished, she said to him, with great earnestness, "I was born in the Catholic religion; in this religion I have lived; and I will die in this religion." During the Dean's prayer, she employed herself in devotion; and when he had finished, she pronounced aloud several petitions in English, for the afflicted church, for a happy issue to her own troubles, for prosperity to her son, and for a long and happy reign to Elizabeth.

With the aid of her two women, she now began to disrobe herself. The executioner lending his assistance, she smiled, and said that she was not accustomed to undress before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants seeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations. She turned herself to them, put her finger upon her lips as a sign of imposing silence; and, having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief. The Queen then laid herself down without any signs of fear or trepidation; and her head was severed from her body, at two strokes, by the executioner. He instantly held

it up to the spectators, streaming with blood. The convulsions of death were still writhing the countenance. The Dean of Peterborough exclaimed, "So perish all Queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The solitary voice of the Earl of Kent responded, "Amen!" The attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them; zeal and flattery alike gave place to pity and admiration of the expiring Princess. Mary died on the 8th of February 1587, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England.

She was a woman of great accomplishments, natural as well as acquired. The beauties of her person and the graces of her air combined to form the most lovely of women, and the charms of her address and conversation rendered the impression indelible which her figure had made.

It was her misfortune to be educated at a polished but profligate court, where the principles of virtue and morality were practically disregarded. Whatever embellishments her education added to her beauty, had the unfortunate tendency, with the devotion which was at all times paid to her personal charms, of rendering her temper, naturally violent, extremely impatient of contradiction. Habituated to the splendour and gallantry of the most licentious court in Europe, she could not endure those restraints which the severer manners of her native country imposed.

The vivacity of her spirit, not sufficiently tempered with sound judgment, and the warmth of her heart, which was not at all times under the restraint of discretion, betrayed her both into errors and into crimes.

Nursed from her infancy in a blind attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, every means had been employed, before she left France, to strengthen this prejudice, and to inspire her with aversion to the Reformed opinions that had been embraced by her people. She was taught that it would be the great glory of her reign to reduce her kingdom to the obedience of the Romish see, and to coöperate with the Popish princes on the Continent in extirpating heresy. With these unfortunate prepossessions, Mary came into Scotland; and it must be admitted, that neither the circumstances of her situation, the conduct of her countrymen, nor the genius of the age, were favourable to a change in her sentiments.

Had her subjects, during her reign, entertained the religious principles of their ancestors, Mary might have reigned with great popularity. But her extreme attachment to the Popish religion, when the current of public opinion had turn-

ed with irresistible force against it, deprived her of political sagacity; and restrained her from that prudent sympathy with the feelings of her subjects, which only could secure their affections and preserve her authority.

Her cruel sufferings and celebrated beauty have been so eloquently described by her modern advocates, that her crimes have been cast into the shade. At the distance of two hundred years, her memory has called forth the zeal and chivalrous defence of a more enthusiastic band of champions than ever were mustered for her defence in her lifetime.

The political parties which were formed in Scotland during her reign, have subsisted, under various denominations, ever since.

CHAPTER IX.

Reconciliation between Elizabeth and James. Threatened invasion of England. The Spanish armada is dispersed. The King's marriage. Tumults in Edinburgh. Conspiracy of the Catholic nobles—detected.

When Queen Elizabeth was informed of Mary's execution, she affected the greatest surprise and concern. Her countenance changed; her speech faultered; sighs, tears, and lamentations, with weeds of mourning, were employed to display the greatness of her sorrow. She affirmed that Mary had been put to death without her knowledge and against her inclination. Under the pretence that he had exceeded his commission, Davidson, her secretary, was fined ten thousand pounds, and imprisoned.

These hypocritical appearances were assumed to appease the young King of Scotland, who publicly avowed his determination to employ the whole force of his kingdom in order to avenge his mother's death. He recalled his ambassador from the English court, and refused an audience to an envoy who had been sent with a letter of condolence and apology from Elizabeth. Many of his nobles advised him to take up arms without delay; and the Catholics recommended a union with Spain.

After allowing James a decent interval to vent his grief and anger, Elizabeth employed her emissaries to induce him, by every motive of hope and fear, to forbear hostilities. Her exertions were successful, and James fell into a good understanding with the court of England.

The safety of Britain, and the preservation of the Reformed religion, required the steady coöperation of the Scots and

English. Philip of Spain projected not only the invasion but the conquest of England; and as Elizabeth's power and credit were the chief bulwarks of the Protestant religion, he hoped, by subduing that princess, to unite the whole Christian world in the Catholic communion. Both Elizabeth and Philip endeavoured to secure the alliance of the King of Scots; who conducted himself with judgment and prudence. In a convention of the nobles, he avowed his resolution of acting in concert with Elizabeth against the common enemy, and offered to send an army to her assistance. He informed the English ambassador, that he expected no other favour from Philip than what Polyphemus had promised to Ulysses, —that when he had devoured all his companions, he would make him his last morsel.

James's zeal was nobly seconded by the devotion of his subjects. For the defence of his person and government, in opposition to all enemies foreign and domestic, a bond was framed and subscribed by the nobles, the clergy, and the people. The Spanish armada, which was designed to annihilate the English navy, and transport an army for the subjugation of Britain, at last sailed. It consisted of one hundred and twenty vessels, strongly built, and of immense size; it carried two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance, and had on board eight thousand mariners and nineteen thousand soldiers. Philip had employed all the power of his dominions in Europe, and exhausted the treasures of the Indies, in preparing this armada; and the Pope, in his infallibility, gave it the appellation of *invincible*.

Continual disasters attended its course: Tremendous storms and successive battles combined with the ill conduct of the Spaniards to frustrate its object; and not one half of the invincible armada returned to Spain. Seven hundred Spaniards, who had been forced on shore by a tempest, were A.D. 1588. treated by James with great humanity, and permitted to return home.

Disappointed in his expectations of conquering England by a naval armament, Philip proposed to transport a body of troops from the Low Countries to Scotland; whence, with the aid of the disaffected in that kingdom, he hoped to make a successful attack upon England. In order to accelerate his design, he remitted a sum of money, to be distributed by some Catholic priests among the Scottish nobles most zealous for Popery.

The artful address of these ecclesiastics, seconded by the powerful influence of bribes and promises, overcame the vir-

tue of the Earls of Huntly, Crawford, Errol, and Bothwell; who offered their services to the King of Spain, and engaged, with the aid of six thousand men, to make him master of the kingdom. These treasonable designs were detected by the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers. Induced by motives of interest and policy, James was inclined to sooth rather than to irritate the Catholics; and, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Elizabeth and the remonstrances of the Scottish clergy, a short imprisonment was the only punishment inflicted upon Bothwell and his associates.

The royal clemency was ungratefully requited by the noble delinquents; who soon after attempted a more daring enterprise, to seize the King's person, for the ostensible purpose of removing Chancellor Maitland from his councils: But that minister's sagacity, and their unguarded conduct, disconcerted their machinations. The malecontents immediately retired to the Northern parts of the kingdom, and unfurled the standard of rebellion; but being closely pursued by a small force under the King in person, they surrendered, and threw themselves on his mercy. They were tried, and convicted of treason; but James, agreeably to his mild policy, confined them a few months, and then set them at liberty.

It might have been expected, that James's magnanimity in generously overlooking his personal wrongs, for the preservation of the liberties of Britain, would have conciliated that malignant jealousy towards him with which Elizabeth had been so much agitated during his mother's lifetime. The King's marriage was on many accounts an event which the Scots desired; and he had made many overtures for that purpose to the eldest daughter of the King of Denmark; who, being a remote prince and not powerful, could give little umbrage to Elizabeth.

But Elizabeth seemed desirous to prevent every incident that might render the accession of the King of Scots more acceptable to the English nation. She so artfully corrupted his ministers and perplexed his negotiations, that the Danish Monarch, impatient of delay, wedded his daughter to the Duke of Brunswick. James then paid his addresses to her younger sister the Princess Ann; but he still encountered obstacles and delays, through the intrigues of Elizabeth. His impatience became excessive. The citizens of Edinburgh, secretly encouraged by him, threatened to tear Chancellor Maitland in pieces, whom they blamed for disappointing the wishes of the King and the expectations of his people.

An embassy, with ample powers, was immediately sent by the Scottish court to Denmark. The articles of marriage were settled; the ceremony was performed by proxy, and the Princess embarked for Scotland: But her fleet was driven, by a storm, on the coast of Norway. This tempest, and some others that happened near the same time, were believed by the Scots and Danes to have been occasioned by a combination of the Scottish and Danish witches. Though a great believer in sorcery, James encountered the perils of a voyage across the North Sea, in order to conduct his bride home. A train of three hundred persons, including the Chancellor and many noblemen, attended him to Norway, whence he accompanied his bride to Copenhagen. After spending the winter in that city, amidst great festivity, he returned home next spring, and was joyfully received by his subjects.

The Presbyterian clergy opposed the performance of the ceremony of unction at the Queen's coronation; which, they averred, was either a Jewish or Popish rite, and therefore Antichristian. But the King was as much bent upon the ceremony as they were averse to it, and his authority prevailed. The solemnity of the coronation was performed with great magnificence. Mr Bruce, a Presbyterian divine, set A.D. 1590. the crown upon the Queen's head, and administered the sacred unction.

The complaisance of the clergy in this instance, with their zealous and successful exertions for the preservation of the public peace during his absence, reconciled the King in some measure to their austere manners and to the Presbyterian form of government; and he permitted the General Assembly to enact such laws as were deemed most expedient for abolishing episcopal jurisdiction and establishing the Presbyterian form of church government. The clergy were still more gratified by the humiliation and disgrace of the Catholic bishops, who, having incurred the King's displeasure, fell into contempt with the people. Archbishop Adamson, a Romish prelate, desirous of regaining the royal favour, or overpowered by the force of truth, made the meanest submissions A.D. 1591. to the clergy, and emitted a formal recantation of the Popish tene

The police of the kingdom was at this time in a miserable condition. The fierce and untractable spirit of the nobles occasioned numerous and mortal quarrels. Assassination and murder were perpetrated with impunity. Too gentle to punish, or too indolent to restrain these outrages, James re-

mained a passive spectator; and his administration, destitute of vigour, fell into contempt.

The ignorance of the times is strikingly exhibited in the general belief in sorcery and witchcraft. Many ignorant and deluded persons, accused of using incantations, were punished without justice or mercy. Some of these unhappy persons accused the Earl of Bothwell of having consulted them in order to ascertain the time of the King's death, and of having employed their art to raise the storms which had endangered the Queen's life.

Bothwell was committed to prison; but he soon made his escape. Imputing the King's severity to the personal enmity of the Chancellor, he assembled his followers, to be revenged. He had nearly accomplished his purpose, when an alarm was given to the citizens of Edinburgh; who seized their arms, and hastened to the King's assistance. Bothwell immediately desisted, and fled. A royal commission was issued, impowering the Earl of Huntly to pursue and punish the fugitive. Instead of executing his orders, Huntly, intent on gratifying his private revenge, slew the Earl of Murray, and burned his house to the ground. The murder of the Regent Murray's son, who was a favourite with the people, excited general indignation. The citizens of Edinburgh rose in a tumultuous manner; and though they were restrained by their magistrates from offering any personal violence to the King, they openly insulted him and his ministers.

To escape the popular fury, James retired with his court to Glasgow; where Huntly surrendered himself; but escaped with impunity. Such a dereliction of public duty and disregard to justice, rendered the King's administration very unpopular. To conciliate the favour of the people, James lent an apparently willing ear to the complaints of the Presbyterian clergy; and notwithstanding his dislike to the republican genius of Presbytery, and the uncomplying character of its ministers, he courted their favour. He sanctioned a law, whereby were repealed or explained some acts that the Presbyterians complained of as injurious, which had been passed eight years before in a clandestine manner. Thus was A. D. 1592. the Presbyterian church, with its discipline and judicatories, for the first time established by law.

The tranquillity established by these conciliating measures was soon interrupted. Bothwell, who had been attainted by the Parliament, suddenly appeared at Falkland, and unsuccessfully attempted to seize the King's person. A more dangerous conspiracy was discovered soon after. The Earls of

Angus, Errol, and Huntly, had entered into an agreement with the King of Spain, for the reëstablishment of the Catholic worship in Scotland, and for effecting the same purpose subsequently in England.

George Ker, brother to Lord Newbottle, having been suspected and seized when about to leave the kingdom, was intimidated by the torture to make a full disclosure of the conspiracy. Graham of Fintry and Barclay of Ladyland, whom he accused as accomplices, were taken into custody, and corroborated his evidence.

Alarmed by the terror of an invasion, all ranks stood forth as champions for the liberty and independence of their country. The ministers of Edinburgh, without any legal warrant, convoked an assembly of the peers and barons. Angus was instantly committed to the castle; but he escaped. Graham was tried and beheaded. Errol and Huntly were summoned to surrender themselves to justice; but they fled to the mountains. James marched into the North with an army, placed garrisons in the castles of the contumacious barons, and appointed the Earls of Atholl and Marischal, his lieutenants there, to maintain the public peace.

Queen Elizabeth despatched Lord Borough into Scotland, to counsel the King to confiscate the estates of the traitors, and annex them to the crown. James pleaded in excuse, that he was not possessed of means sufficient; and solicited the aid of the Queen; which she refused. What were his secret motives, is uncertain; but his reluctance to punish a crime so flagrant, excited strong suspicions that he was attached to Popery. He was desirous that Ker might be allowed to escape from prison; and notwithstanding the importunity of his subjects obliged him to call a Parliament for attainting the delinquents, nothing was concluded against
A. D. 1593. them, on pretence that legal evidence of their guilt could not be procured.

The poverty of his finances was only a subordinate cause of the impotence of James's government. The court was divided into two factions, under the Queen and the Chancellor. To attain the ascendency, the Queen's party adopted an extraordinary expedient. They privately recalled the exiled Bothwell; who found means to introduce himself into the King's presence, with a train of armed followers. He received a pardon, and James promised to procure its ratification by Parliament: But that body refused its sanction, alleging that the pardon had been extorted by force.

Bothwell fled to England; where he was secretly protected

by Elizabeth. His spirit was too turbulent to remain long inactive. He appeared suddenly within a mile of Edinburgh, at the head of four hundred horse. The citizens armed themselves in the King's defence, and marched to meet the insurgents. After a slight encounter, Bothwell, being deserted by his troops, retired to England.

Though the prosecution of the Catholic earls was suspended during these disorders, the Parliament at length passed an act of attainder against them. The King authorized the Earl of Argyll and Lord Forbes, the hereditary enemies of the attainted lords, to invade their lands and seize their castles. Argyll, a young noblemen of eighteen, took the field at the
A. D. 1591. head of seven thousand men; but he was defeated at Glenlivet.

The conspirators, notwithstanding, found themselves hard pressed by James; and they agreed, upon certain conditions, to leave the kingdom. Bothwell being detected as an accomplice in their conspiracy, forfeited the protection of Elizabeth, and took shelter first in France and then in Italy; where he died in great poverty. He was descended from a natural son of James the Fifth.

The exile of the Catholic nobles procured a season of domestic peace; of which James availed himself to introduce order and economy into the management of his finances; which were in great confusion. To restrain the Queen's prodigality, and to check his own natural facility, he adopted a novel but eligible and decisive measure. The death of Chancellor Maitland having left him without a minister in whom he could confide, he placed the exchequer under the control of eight lawyers; who were invested with almost unlimited powers. No alienation of public property was to be held valid—no order on the treasury was to be attended to—unless ratified by five of the commissioners. By this means, the finances were managed with frugality, and the expenses of the government were readily defrayed.

CHAPTER X.

Disputes between the King and the Presbyterian clergy. Popular tumult—consequences. Restoration of the ecclesiastical estate in Parliament. Gowrie's conspiracy.

The flames of discord now unhappily broke forth between the King and the Presbyterian clergy. Alarmed by the rumours of vast preparations to invade Britain by the King of

Spain, the General Assembly of the church of Scotland appointed a day for public fasting, renewed the covenant, and selected a deputation of noblemen and ministers to submit their deliberations to the King. As the exiled lords were suspected of abetting the machinations of the Spaniards, the deputation importuned the King to confiscate their forfeited estates, for the maintenance of an armed force to defend the liberties of his subjects.

This proposition was entirely at variance with the policy which James intended to pursue. He dreaded the consequences of exasperating a faction so powerful as that of the exiled lords, especially at a time when their resentment might multiply the difficulties in his way to the English throne: He was therefore inclined to mitigate their punishment, and permit them on easy conditions to return home. Agreeably to the King's wishes, the Convention of Estates permitted the banished lords to return and reside upon their estates, upon giving security for their dutiful and peaceable behaviour in future.

No sooner was the Convention's decision known, than the Assembly's committee remonstrated with the King on the impolicy of his lenient conduct. Their representations being disregarded, the committee wrote circular letters to all the presbyteries in Scotland, warning them of the expected danger, enjoining every clergyman to publish from the pulpit the anathema of the church against the Popish lords, and encouraging them to stir up the nation in defence of their religion.

A convention of the most eminent clergymen met at Edinburgh, under the name of *the Standing Council of the Church*, to anticipate and frustrate the designs of their enemies. Although the King was averse to come to an open rupture with the church, he could not conceal his indignation at the conduct of its committee; which he considered an invasion of his prerogative, and an approximation to rebellion.

A. D. 1596. The intemperate zeal of a private clergyman hastened the crisis of this dispute. Mr Black, one of the ministers of St Andrew's, conformably to the practice of the age, inveighed from the pulpit with great bitterness against the recent measures of the Government. The King, the nobles, the judges, and even the English Queen, were equally the objects of his vituperation and abuse. The English ambassador complained of the insult thus offered to his Sovereign; and Black was summoned, by command of the King, to answer for himself before the Privy Council.

This mandate he refused to obey; and appealed to the judicatories of the church, as the only tribunal competent to judge his doctrine and conduct. Enraged at his contumacy, the King sentenced him to be banished beyond the river Spey. He commanded the members of the standing council to return without delay to their respective parishes; and he publicly avowed his determination to compel the clergy to submit, in common with laymen, to the jurisdiction of the civil courts, for all offences against the laws of the realm.

The firm opposition which the King made to the bold proceedings of his opponents, was represented by them as an unequivocal evidence of his apostacy from the Presbyterian faith. Both parties were the dupes of certain incendiaries who are ever ready to aggravate the disputes of contending factions. The King was led to believe that a number of the citizens of Edinburgh assembled clandestinely for military training. A proclamation was immediately issued, commanding twenty-four of the suspected burgesses to leave the city within six hours.

The ministers were alarmed by a report that the King was under the secret influence of the Catholic lords; to some of whom he had given a private audience. Disorder and tumult quickly succeeded. The credulous multitude were alarmed from the pulpit, and anticipated some sudden and awful catastrophe. They swore that they would defend their religion and their ministers against all opposers; and they voted a petition to the King by acclamation, praying for a redress of ecclesiastical grievances, and for the removal of several suspected and obnoxious counsellors. A deputation of noblemen, ministers, and burgesses, presented the petition to the King, in the great hall of the Tolbooth, in presence of the Court of Session.

It was not to be expected that the King would be awed into submission by the paroxysm of an infuriated multitude. He declined receiving the petition under the existing circumstances. A warm altercation ensued, and the King hastily retired. In an instant, the waiting multitude gave vent to the rage of disappointment. They called for arms; they threatened the King and some of his courtiers with instant death; and the consequences might have been fatal, had not the magistrates of the city succeeded in quelling the tumult.

James withdrew, with his attendants, to Linlithgow, during the following night. The courts of law were ordered to fol-

low him; and the nobility and gentry assembled at Edinburgh were ordered to return home, and not to reassemble without the King's permission. The clergy used all their address and authority to counteract the royal mandate. They inflamed the minds of the people by violent invectives against the Government; and they represented to the leaders of their party the necessity of an immediate association for their mutual defence. Lord Hamilton was solicited by letter to become the leader of this confederacy; but he immediately apprized the King of the hostile design. A peremptory order was sent to the magistrates of Edinburgh to seize and imprison their ministers for treason. The authorities prepared to obey; and the clergy, despairing of successful resistance, absconded.

James hastened to avail himself of the ascendancy he had thus gained. The affair was laid before a Convention of the Estates; by whom the ministers and their coadjutors were pronounced guilty of treason; and, to prevent the recurrence of such dangerous and disgraceful tumults, it was enacted that every clergyman should be obliged to subscribe a declaration acknowledging the royal authority as only competent to prosecute and punish all offences civil and criminal.

All magistrates were authorized and commanded to apprehend and commit to prison those ecclesiastics who should utter in their sermons any indecent reflections upon the King's conduct. The fate of the magistrates and citizens of Edinburgh remained still undecided. Notwithstanding they made the most humiliating submissions to the King, their acknowledgments and intercessions were alike disregarded: The city was declared to be disfranchised; and some of the courtiers barbarously recommended to raze the metropolis to its foundations, and to erect a pillar on its ruins, commemorative of the cause of its destruction. But the King was less inclined to gratify his resentment than to restrain the verbal licentiousness of the ministers. Through the intercession of Elizabeth, he became reconciled to the delinquents, and absolved them from the penalties of the law.

Although the King gained an undisputed ascendancy over the clergy, he pursued his advantage with apparent moderation, but consummate address. The greater part of the Reformed clergy were comparatively indigent,—especially in the districts most remote from the metropolis. As their poverty naturally generated discontent and envy, the King conceived the design of exciting the jealousy of the unprovided clergy against their beneficed and more dignified brethren.

By keeping them at variance among themselves, he calculated that their opposition to his government and their authority with the people would be of less weight. The judicatories of the church might likewise be brought more immediately under the influence of the crown, by attaching either of the contending parties to the King's interest, and thus render him completely master of their deliberations.

The proceedings of the General Assemblies which were convened successively at Perth and Dundee, evince how effectually they were brought under the King's control. Many points of discipline which had been observed since the Reformation were voluntarily abandoned, the licence of declaiming on the measures of the Government from the pulpit was censured, and the patronage of the most populous districts was vested in the crown.

The popular clamour that had been directed against the corruptions of the court, was now turned against the carnality of the clergy. The juncture was considered favourable for showing clemency to the exiled lords. After publicly renouncing the errors of Popery, they were restored to the church, and were reinstated soon after by the Legislature in their honours and fortunes. In return for the complaisance of the clergy in this instance, the King permitted the fugitive ministers, under certain restrictions, to reside at Edinburgh.

That the constitution might not be impaired by the abolition of the ecclesiastical estate in Parliament, or induced perhaps by more objectionable motives, James secretly persuaded the commission of the Assembly to petition Parliament that the Presbyterian clergy might be then represented, as in the time of the Popish hierarchy, to watch over the interests of the church and defend its rights.

This petition excited violent and protracted debates between the Assembly and the subordinate ecclesiastical courts; but it was finally decided, by a majority of suffrages, "that it was expedient and necessary, for the good of the church, that the ministers, as the third estate in the nation, in name of Christ, should have a vote in Parliament." Conformably to this declaration, fifty-one ministers were nominated by the King to the vacant benefices which entitled the incumbents to a seat in Parliament, from lists presented by the Assembly. The greatest caution was employed in the selection of proper representatives: They were declared to be amenable to the A. D. 1600. Assembly; and, lest promotion should beget pride and arrogance, these spiritual legislators were declared

to be invested with no ecclesiastical authority superior to their constituents.

The discontent occasioned by this innovation among the more zealous and rigid Presbyterians, was aggravated by the appearance in Edinburgh of a company of players, whom Queen Elizabeth had sent thither, in compliance with the wishes of the King. It is said that Shakspeare was one of this company of performers. The ministers of Edinburgh sounded the alarm; declaiming against the irreligious tendency of theatrical representations, and the licentious conduct of the performers.

James, who had been formerly suspected of Popery, was now indirectly charged with infidelity. An act was passed by the Kirk-Session of Edinburgh, declaring it to be scandalous to resort to the theatre; but as the King resented this interference, the ministers judged it prudent to yield to his authority, and the obnoxious statute was repealed.

The King's supremacy was thus tacitly admitted; and a season of domestic tranquillity seemed to dawn on the nation. But the political horizon was suddenly overcast by a tempest, which irretrievably destroyed the house and fortunes of the noble family of Gowrie. The circumstances of the Gowrie conspiracy were published by royal authority: The following is a brief outline.

As the King was preparing himself for the pleasures of the chase at Falkland, on the morning of the 5th of August, Alexander Ruthven, second brother to the Earl of Gowrie, unexpectedly arrived, and privately informed the King that he had, on the preceding day, apprehended a stranger of very suspicious appearance, possessed of a great quantity of foreign gold. At first, James expressed no surprise; but, after some reflection, he concluded that the foreign Catholics had employed a spy or incendiary to foment domestic troubles.

He therefore proposed to send a warrant to the magistrates of Perth to detain and examine the suspected stranger, and to report the result: But Ruthven earnestly entreated his Majesty to accompany him in person, and investigate the affair. About noon, the King hastily left Falkland, in company with Ruthven. They were overtaken on the way, by Lennox, Murr, and others, to the number of twenty persons.

Various incidents tended to excite suspicion in the King's mind during his journey: He observed that Ruthven's demeanour was reserved, and his countenance agitated; that he had attempted several times to separate him from his at-

tendants, and seemed fearful lest the object of the journey should be communicated to any of them.

Two messengers were successively despatched by Ruthven to his brother, to announce his Majesty's approach. The Earl of Gowrie, in consequence, rode a short distance from the town, with about forty servants, to meet the royal party, and conduct them to his castle. Notwithstanding this apparent affability, the King perceived that he was coldly received. A full hour elapsed before he was served with a meagre dinner.

While his attendants were dining in an adjoining apartment, Ruthven privately requested the King to accompany him whither the prisoner was secured. James's suspicions led to command the attendance of Sir Thomas Erskine; but Ruthven secretly countermanded the order. After following his guide through several apartments, the doors of which were successively locked as they passed, Ruthven opened the door of his small study; and, with a smiling countenance, requested the King to enter.

He complied; but was greatly surprised and alarmed, at the sight of a man armed with a sword and dagger. Ruthven instantly covered his head, snatched the weapons of the stranger, and held the point of the dagger to the King's breast,—reminding him of his injustice and cruelty to his father; swearing that he was now his prisoner; and threatening him with instant death should he make any noise or offer resistance.

James had carried with him of his accoutrements only his hunting-horn. He expostulated with Ruthven on the danger and turpitude of his conduct; he flattered, he threatened him. Ruthven, seemingly appalled, protested that his Majesty should receive no injury, if he would swear not to escape or raise an alarm. There remained no alternative for the King but compliance. He was then given in charge to the armed man; who, stupified with terror, had all the while stood pale and trembling.

Ruthven retired, but for what purpose is unknown. During his absence, James prevailed on his astonished keeper to open a small window that looked to the street. Meantime, Lennox and Marr, perceiving the King's absence, impatiently inquired whither he had retired? Gowrie replied, that he had immediately set off for Falkland. The lords hastily demanded their horses, and prepared to follow.

By this time, Ruthven had returned to the King, and offered to bind his hands with a garter. James indignantly

replied, that he was born a free king, and should die a free king. Ruthven seized him by the throat, and attempted to gag him. A violent grapple ensued. The King dragged his opponent to the window, and shrieked for help. At that moment, the lords having mounted, were passing by. They heard and knew his voice; and, rushing into the castle, began to demolish with the utmost fury every obstacle which prevented access to the King.

Sir John Ramsay discovered a private stair which immediately led to the scene of conflict. He instantly stabbed Ruthven several times, and threw him down the stair. Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hugh Herries having accidentally followed Ramsay, found Ruthven weltering in his blood. They immediately killed him, notwithstanding his protestations of innocence, and his entreaties for mercy.

The moment was eventful. Erskine and Herries had no sooner joined the King, than Gowrie entered with two drawn swords and several attendants. The King's friends had presence of mind to thrust him into the study, that they might the better encounter their opponents. Gowrie was pierced through the heart, and expired without uttering a word. His attendants fled.

Lennox and Marr soon forced the doors by which the King had entered. When they beheld Gowrie stretched lifeless upon the floor, and found the King unhurt, their paroxysm of rage was succeeded by the most lively emotions of joy. They all prostrated themselves; and his Majesty ejaculated aloud a fervent thanksgiving for his miraculous escape.

No sooner had the incidents of this catastrophe transpired, than the burgesses of Perth, of which Gowrie was provost, surrounded the castle, and threatened the King and his followers with summary vengeance. James prudently conciliated the multitude, by admitting their magistrates, and detailing to them the particulars of his escape.

About eight in the evening, he left Perth for Falkland; and was congratulated during his journey by various groupes* that had been attracted to the highway by curiosity or feelings of loyalty.

Of the different hypotheses that have been advanced to account for this mysterious and tragical event, none appears

* Tradition reports, that of this number was a gentleman of Lower Stratherne, who in his younger years had been at court. James stopped, and related to him the whole affair. The honest yeoman bluntly replied, "It is a strange story, please your Majesty, if it be true."

rational or entirely satisfactory. The narrative published by royal authority is in many instances unsupported by evidence, and is at variance with the depositions of the witnesses examined on the trial. The depositions themselves are contradictory, improbable, and absurd. These misrepresentations throw a discredit on the whole narrative. It is indisputably certain that the King and his favourers rendered this conspiracy less credible by exaggerating many of its circumstances.

The most probable solution of this historical problem is, that Gowrie had formed a design to seize the King's person, and by that means acquire the absolute direction of the state. It is highly probable that Queen Elizabeth was privy to the design, and encouraged its execution. Had Gowrie's conspiracy succeeded, it would likely have formed an exact counterpart to the *Raid of Ruthven*, in which his father had been engaged.

CHAPTER XI.

Proceedings against the family of Gowrie. Attempts to civilize the Highlands. James's exertions to secure his accession to the English crown. Death of Elizabeth. James succeeds her.

The news of the King's escape and Gowrie's fate, reached Edinburgh on the following morning. The Privy Council assembled, and issued an order to the ministers to convene their congregations, and to offer public thanksgiving to God for his Majesty's happy deliverance. But by that time, various reports of the affair were in circulation, and some doubts were entertained of the validity of the statement promulgated by the Council. The clergy very readily gave public thanks; but they declined giving publicity to a story which seemed to them problematical and dubious.

Nor were they more compliant when James arrived a few days after at Edinburgh. Notwithstanding the royal chaplain publicly declared from the cross the particulars of the conspiracy, which the King himself verbally corroborated, the clergy continued to demur. More convincing arguments were then resorted to: Their incredulity was at last overcome by the terror of the King's resentment. Mr Robert Bruce, less obsequious than his brethren, was punished for his scepticism with the forfeiture of his benefice and banishment from the kingdom.

The Parliament proceeded with great severity against the house of the unfortunate Gowrie. An indictment for high

treason was preferred against the dead bodies of the murdered brothers; who were capitally convicted, hanged, quartered, their honours and estates were forfeited, and the surname of Ruthven was abolished. Three of Gowrie's servants, convicted as accomplices, were executed at Perth. The anniversary of the conspiracy was appointed to be observed as a day of public thanksgiving. The unanimity of the aristocracy and the Parliament on this occasion prevented any serious consequence that might have otherwise ensued from the popular irritation and alarm.

It will be recollected, that, in the year 1540, James the Fifth successfully controlled the feudal chiefs in the Highlands and Western Isles. His grandson was solicitous to accomplish the same design; and the unusual tranquillity the kingdom had enjoyed for some time, presented a favourable opportunity. From the happy effects produced in the Lowlands by the introduction of the arts of peace, James was encouraged to prosecute this salutary undertaking.

It was his aim to render the turbulent and ferocious mountaineers peaceful and happy—to lessen their attachment to military pursuits—to direct their bold and enterprising spirit to the pursuits of industry, in which they have since pre-eminently excelled. Conformably to these intentions, the feudal chiefs were made responsible for the peaceable conduct of their vassals; and the laws for repressing idleness and restraining the predatory habits of the peasantry were commanded to be rigorously enforced.

To excite a spirit of industry, and to open a field for commercial and mechanical pursuits, three towns were ordered to be built, with ample privileges, in Lochaber, Cantire, and the Isle of Lewis. The result of this experiment was unfortunate. A colony of fishermen that had been transferred from Fife to Lewis, was regarded by the natives with jea-
A. D. } lousy and hatred. Some of these strangers were sur-
1602. } prised and murdered, and the rest were obliged to abandon the settlement.

For several years previous to Elizabeth's death, James made every possible effort to secure his accession to the English crown. Being allied by marriage to many of the German princes, he obtained from them an explicit acknowledgment of the justice of his claim. He even corresponded secretly with the Pope; who publicly declared in his favour.

Elizabeth was speedily apprized of this transaction; which greatly inflamed her natural jealousy, induced her to scrutinize his conduct towards the Catholics, and probably in-

creased her indecision to nominate him as her successor. But these inauspicious appearances were counterbalanced by an explicit assurance of support from the English Catholics, from many of the nobles, and from the Queen's own ministers. The court of France unsuccessfully attempted to throw obstacles in the way of this desirable union, by corrupting Elizabeth's ministers; and though many anonymous pamphlets were circulated, containing sentiments unfavourable to the King's right of accession, they were satisfactorily answered or totally disregarded.

The English formed a high opinion of James's wisdom and talents for government, from a book which he published, addressed to his son Prince Henry, and containing many excellent precepts in the art of government. Besides, every religious and political party coalesced in promoting his accession.

The time at length arrived when James was to attain the summit of his fortune and ambition. After a prosperous reign of forty-five years, Queen Elizabeth expired, in the seventieth year of her age. Her death was accelerated by mental despondency,—arising, as was conjectured, from the unhappy fate of the Earl of Essex, a young nobleman whom she had treated with the most flattering marks of favour and affection; but who, having engaged in treasonable designs against his mistress, was condemned and executed.

In compliance with the wishes of her ministers, Elizabeth, on her deathbed, named the King of Scots as her successor, —observing, that her throne was the throne of kings, "and that she would have no mean person to ascend it." The news of the Queen's demise, and of his undisputed accession, was communicated to James by the Privy Council at London.

He caused his titles to be immediately proclaimed, and prepared to take possession of the English throne. On the Sabbath-day before his departure, he went to the church of St Giles; and after sermon he arose and addressed a long discourse to the audience, in which he enumerated the many proofs he had given his countrymen of affection and zeal in the course of his reign. His power was enlarged, he observed, to promote their welfare; and he promised to revisit his native country every third year, that his subjects might pour their complaints into his paternal bosom.

When he announced his approaching departure, the audience burst into tears and loud lamentations. The King committed the civil administration of the kingdom to the

Privy Council and the officers of state; and he intrusted the guardianship of his children, Henry, Charles, and the Princess Elizabeth, to different noblemen.

Assured that all ranks in England acquiesced in his title, A. D. 1603. and ardently expected his arrival, he commenced his journey for London on Tuesday the 5th of April, with a splendid but select train of the principal nobility. In the course of his journey, he was heartily welcomed by the acclamations of immense multitudes that had been attracted through curiosity or a spirit of loyalty; and he entered London on the 17th of May.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

THE UNION OF THE CROWNS, 1603.

CHAPTER I.

State of the kingdom. Unsuccessful attempts to unite the kingdoms. Episcopacy introduced—unhappy consequences. Death and character of James.

The English sceptre was transferred from the family of Tudor to the house of Stuart with as great tranquillity as if it had passed from father to son. A concurrence of very favourable circumstances attended the elevation of the King of Scots to the English throne. Civilization and commerce had advanced with unexampled rapidity during Elizabeth's reign; victory abroad and domestic peace smiled upon her subjects.

Though James was born and educated among a rude people, the English nation submitted cheerfully to his authority. It was hoped, from his character of moderation and wisdom, that he would be guided by the maxims and feelings of an English monarch.

His natural facility soon displayed his character in a very disadvantageous light, when contrasted with the political prudence of his predecessor. Elizabeth had bestowed her favours with great discretion; James dubbed no fewer than two hundred and thirty-seven knights within six weeks after his arrival in England. These honours, conferred without choice or deliberation, were generally regarded as indications

of good nature, and not of sagacity. A pasquinade was stuck up at St Paul's, intimating where an art was taught to assist the memory in recollecting the names of the new nobility.

In the beginning of this reign, two conspiracies were formed to subvert the government. The particulars of the first conspiracy are but obscurely known: Sir Walter Raleigh, some noblemen, and two Catholic priests, are said to have been the persons chiefly implicated. The second attempt, well known by the name of the *Gunpowder Plot*, seems to have been devised by the English Catholics in revenge for the disappointment they suffered in not obtaining the political ascendancy which they expected, and a greater religious indulgence, from a monarch who, they flattered themselves, must have a predilection for a church to which his ancestors had been inviolably attached.

The miserable condition of Scotland had been often ineffectually lamented by the King; but he reserved the execution of his plans of melioration for the plenitude of his power and the season of tranquillity which was expected to succeed the union of the crowns. Scotland had been agitated and exhausted during his minority with civil dissentions; almost all his subjects were tyrants or slaves. The state of agriculture was stationary and languid; the farmer, without capital, was destitute of enterprise. The trade, consisting of wool, hides, and the uncertain produce of mines and fisheries, was limited to a few towns, and offered few inducements to a people naturally attached to military pursuits. As a preliminary to any national improvement, James proposed to unite the kingdoms; and for that purpose he prevailed on the Parliaments of both kingdoms to nominate commissioners to settle the basis of a treaty.

The commissioners met at Westminster; but, after various conferences, their progress was interrupted by unexpected debates. Jealous of their independence, the Scots were indignant and mortified at the prospect of their country becoming a dependent province of the British empire; and, for the surrender of their personal importance, commercial privileges were considered as an inadequate recompense by a proud aristocracy.

The English commissioners proposed an uniformity of laws as the basis of a treaty of union; and they declined to communicate the rights and privileges of Englishmen to aliens so recently their enemies, and who were still their rivals, upon any other terms. This absurd proposition, dictated by invi-

dious motives, frustrated the whole project of the union. Of the various articles prepared by the commissioners, only the abolition of hostile laws was adopted.

James attempted, with better success, to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland, under the specious pretext of a laudable conformity,—the consequences of which were so memorable until the Revolution, and disastrous to the dynasty of the Stuarts. Forgetful of repeated promises to preserve inviolate the privileges of the church, the King had meditated the institution of Episcopacy, even before the accession. That event proved unpropitious to the Scottish church; which was assailed with overpowering force, and shaken to its foundations.

As a preliminary to greater encroachments, the independence of the General Assembly was first attacked. James had delayed convoking this supreme ecclesiastical court for three years; and it was not without reason that the Presbyterian clergy apprehended a total disuse of assemblies, should they be convened or prorogued at the King's pleasure.

A.D. 1606. A few ministers, delegated from nine presbyteries, met at Aberdeen, and proceeded to assert their rights, notwithstanding a prohibition from the Privy Council. By their own authority alone, they summoned another assembly, to be held the same year; after which they immediately separated. This assembly was by proclamation declared unlawful; and, to intimidate the clergy, the court determined to punish the most active and zealous defenders of these contumacious proceedings.

Accordingly, Welsh and Drury, two popular preachers, were, for this alleged crime, tried for treason and convicted. After a rigorous imprisonment, they were condemned to perpetual exile. The act annexing the church lands to the crown, which was regarded as the barrier of the church, was repealed; the bishops were restored to their estates and dignity; thirteen dilapidated bishoprics were reëstablished, and seventeen inferior benefices were converted into temporal lordships.

Of these invasions, which they could not obstruct, the Presbyterian clergy were not inactive spectators; but their efforts to excite opposition were unavailing, and even their intercession in behalf of their persecuted brethren was disregarded. An ecclesiastical assembly was held soon after at Linlithgow, the members of which were nominated by the bishops, as favourable to their interests, and summoned by the King from their respective presbyteries.

By this assembly, the equality of the clergy, one of the peculiar features of Presbyterianism, was subverted; the bishops were appointed moderators of the presbyteries within which they resided, and also permanent moderators of provincial synods. In order to reconcile the clergy to these proceedings, forty thousand merks were privately distributed, by the Earl of Dunbar, among the most clamorous or necessitous.

Another expedient was resorted to by the court for reuniting the Scottish clergy to the pastoral dominion of the crosier. Andrew Melvil, the successor of Knox, James Melvil, his nephew, with six others of the same persuasion, were invited to hold a conference at London respecting the disputed points, with two Scottish archbishops, and three auxiliaries, nominated by the King.

The conference terminated in acrimonious altercation; the Melvils were neither to be cajoled nor intimidated; but their conscientious adherence to their principles was punished with imprisonment and exile.

A.D. 1607. Notwithstanding the failure of the proposed union, the King did not abandon the scheme which he had long meditated for reforming the civil polity of his native country. He recommended to a Convention of the Estates to enforce a strict and impartial observance of the laws, the encouragement of their valuable but neglected fisheries, and the manufacture of woollen cloths.

Though the King suggested these and other national improvements, they were not supported by his hearty coöperation: The manufactures received no encouragement, and the fisheries no assistance, except an unavailing proclamation prohibiting foreign vessels from fishing upon the Scottish coasts.

A.D. 1610. In advancing the interests of Episcopacy, the King more steadily persevered. The Archbishop of Glasgow was created an extraordinary Lord of Session, to restore a spiritual intermixture on the bench, which had been discontinued since the Reformation. Two courts of High Commission were erected at St Andrew's and Glasgow. They were invested with such inquisitorial powers and extensive jurisdiction, that colleges and schools were subject to their visitation; all ranks were under their control, and from their sentence there was no appeal.

When the prelates had thus united the spiritual authority of the High Commission to their temporal dignity as lords of Parliament, their influence over the clergy became irre-

sistible. An Assembly of the church, convened at Glasgow, recognized the supremacy of the prelates; the Parliament confirmed and enlarged their powers; and, to consummate their ordination, three of their number were summoned to London, to receive consecration from the English bishops.

The apostolical character, it was supposed, was thus conferred upon Spottiswood and the Bishops of Brechin and Galloway; who imparted it in the same manner to their unconsecrated brethren.

A.D. 1617. The King, who had delayed, through negligence and poverty, to return every third year to Scotland, agreeably to his promise, now prepared, after fourteen years' absence, to visit the scenes of his youth. A splendid retinue of the English nobility accompanied him to Edinburgh. His arrival was welcomed by the Scottish muse in classical poetry and panegyrical orations. The chief object of his journey was to assimilate the forms and ceremonies of the Scottish church to the Episcopal ritual; and from the facility with which his wishes had been already gratified in ecclesiastical affairs, he did not anticipate any opposition.

In promoting these schemes of innovation, his chief or only opponents hitherto had been the Presbyterian clergy. But many of the Scottish nobles, jealous of the growing influence of the royal prerogative, and indignant at the aggrandizement of the prelates, became alarmed for the preservation of the rich domains of which they had despoiled the Catholic clergy at the Reformation.

It was in a Parliament assembled at Edinburgh, after the King's return, that the dissatisfaction of the nobles appeared. The Lords of the Articles, who prepared every measure that was to come before Parliament, were, by the mode of their election, in effect nominated by the King; and the officers of state had been associated with them. On this occasion, the members nominated by the King were rejected by the nobles; and so violent was the opposition that the King threatened to dissolve the Parliament.

A reconciliation being effected, James proceeded in his design of completing the hierarchy. He made an attempt to obtain surreptitiously an act investing him with absolute authority in ecclesiastical affairs. Against this measure, the clergy presented a protest, when the obnoxious statute was about to be ratified. The King, with apparent deference, desisted; But when the Parliament was dissolved, Calder-

wood, the reputed author of the protest, with Simpson and Ewart, who had presented it, were summoned before the High Commission at St Andrew's; by which their protest was condemned as a seditious remonstrance.

Calderwood was sentenced to perpetual banishment: His fellow-sufferers were suspended from their clerical functions, and imprisoned. The most eminent among the clergy had been summoned to be spectators of the disgrace and punishment of their refractory brethren. Before this assembly, James announced his resolution of introducing the following practices into the Scottish church. First, that the eucharist should be received in a kneeling posture; second, that it should be administered in private in cases of extreme sickness; third, that baptism should be administered in private when required; fourth, that episcopal confirmation should be bestowed upon youth; fifth, that the birth, passion, ascension, and resurrection of Christ, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, should be annually commemorated by festivals in the church.

These innovations the clergy durst not openly oppose. But James, in compliance with their humble supplications, consented to submit the five articles to the deliberation of the General Assembly, upon the assurance that that body would be entirely obsequious to his will. The clergy were more desirous to conciliate the King than submit implicitly to his authority. An Assembly was held at St Andrew's; but its resolutions were inconclusive, and therefore disagreeable to the King. Another and more compliant Assembly was held at Perth; and to each of its members was proposed the perplexing question, "Will you assent to these articles, or disoblige the King?" About forty ministers declared their dissent; but the five articles were indiscriminately adopted.

Though the submission of the clergy was highly gratifying to the King, it was censured by the great body of the people as ignominious and degrading. Even the authority of the Assembly was arraigned; and its decision was rejected with abhorrence, notwithstanding it received the sanction of Parliament.

A proclamation was issued, enjoining the clergy and the people to conform to the new ceremonies; but the more vehement the King was in demanding obedience, the people were the more obstinate in their opposition. In Edinburgh, the Christmas festival was observed by the judges and lawyers only. The citizens persisted in their daily avocations;

and in the country churches, when the communicants were commanded to kneel to the eucharistical elements, they arose and retired with indignation.

During the last year of James's reign, a series of tyrannical measures was pursued with inflexible resolution. The recusant ministers were suspended from their functions, deprived of their benefices, persecuted, and imprisoned. But these coercive measures produced effects entirely the reverse of what the King expected. The deposed clergy persisted in public and private teaching; conventicles were established and numerously attended, while the Episcopal churches were deserted.

A. D. 1625. James died of a tertian ague, at the age of fifty-nine years; having reigned fifty-seven in Scotland and twenty-two in England. His reign in the latter kingdom was tranquil and beneficent; but after his accession, his reign in Scotland exhibits him engaged in an ignoble struggle with the majority of his subjects, for the purpose of prescribing to them a religious belief and imposing it by penal sanctions.

James was a prince of considerable talents and learning, but of little mental or political energy. From his notions of an uncontrollable prerogative, he became unpopular, and provoked his subjects to question it. The current of public opinion was now strongly turned to an extension of the rights of the subject and retrenchment of the powers of the crown; and, during this reign, the seeds were sown of that spirit of resistance on the part of the people which was destined in the next to overturn the monarchy.

James was only once married, to Anne of Denmark; who died in 1619, in the forty-fifth year of her age. She was bold, intriguing, immersed in politics, impressed with little reverence for her husband's spirit or his talents for government. A great comet appeared about the time of her death; and the phenomenon was considered by the vulgar as a prognostic of that event. James left only one son, Charles; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine. Henry Prince of Wales, an accomplished youth, died at the premature age of eighteen.

CHAPTER II.

Charles. Revocation of impropriated tithes—exasperates the nobility. Charles visits Scotland—introduces the Liturgy and Canons. Popular irritation and tumults. Renewal of the Covenant. Compromises attempted. Hostile preparations. Negotiation. Civil war.

A. D. 1625. CHARLES the FIRST.—Charles the First began his reign under a combination of circumstances, which were rendered, by his imprudence, imminently dangerous and eventful. The hostility which had harassed and weakened both kingdoms, and the domestic dissentions which had been excited in Scotland through the influence of the English monarchs, were happily terminated by the union of the crowns. The great authority which the late King had acquired was occasionally exerted in allaying the feuds of the Scottish aristocracy, and establishing law and order throughout the kingdom.

To these circumstances may be attributed the profound tranquillity of Scotland for twelve years after the accession of Charles to the throne. In this period, though diversified with few important transactions, may be discovered the germes of the civil and religious discord which subsequently convulsed the kingdom. Had the nation, in this reign, entertained the same ideas of the royal prerogative, of the powers of Parliament, and of the liberty of the subject, that had prevailed in the two preceding centuries, Charles would have reigned with high popularity.

But his mind had been imbued with his father's tenets in religion and politics, when the public opinion had undergone an entire revolution on these topics. He was extremely attached to the Episcopal hierarchy, as more congenial to monarchy than the democratic genius of Presbytery. He conceived that the prelates maintained an exemplary subordination and discipline among the inferior clergy; and as their order derived its authority solely from the King, he concluded that they must be zealous and trusty supporters of the prerogative.

One of the first measures of the new reign in Scotland, was the revocation of impropriated tithes and benefices which had reverted to the crown after the Reformation, and which had been exhausted in gifts to the importunate nobles. But every proposition for relinquishing the spoils of the church was peremptorily refused by the nobility and gentry. The Assembly of Estates, to whose deliberations the act of revoca-

tion had been submitted, threatened the Earl of Nithsdale, who presided, with summary vengeance, unless he desisted; and Lord Belhaven, though blind with age, requested to be set next the Earl of Dumfries, whom he grasped with one hand, as if to support his infirmities, and held in the other a concealed dagger, to plunge into his heart on the first commotion.

Nithsdale, apprized of the hostile spirit of the Convention, immediately dissolved it. The King, however, determined to persevere in recovering the patrimony of the church. A commission was issued to receive the surrender of impropriated tithes and benefices, under certain implied conditions; and the refractory nobles, who refused to submit to the arbitration of the Sovereign, were successively prosecuted and compelled to submit. But a secret and permanent disaffection to the Government was thus kindled; and the nobility, who had hitherto beheld with apathy the ecclesiastical innovations, were resolved to unite with the Presbyterians.

Such was the situation of the kingdom when Charles revisited his native country, to be formally invested with the supreme authority. The ceremony of inauguration was succeeded by a short session of Parliament, which voted liberal and unprecedented supplies. This complaisance was mistaken by the King for an unconditional submission to his authority. He obtained an act of Parliament for the introduction of episcopal vestments, which was understood to be tantamount to an acknowledgment of his supremacy; but as that act was known to have been extorted by his influence and importunity, contrary to the sentiments of those who gave it their suffrage, it served only to inflame the resentment of the nation, which became alarmed for the independence of Parliament.

Charles could not dissemble his surprise at the sudden reverse he had experienced in the popular favour. A prelate, unconscious that he uttered a prediction to be verified in the tragical death of the King, observed, "The Scots will execrate and crucify to-morrow him whom but yesterday they saluted with hosannas!"

The popular indignation was still more inflamed by the arbitrary trial and unjust condemnation of Lord Balmerino; who was accused of sedition, from motives of private malice, by his hereditary enemy Hay of Naughton. This iniquitous prosecution was ruinous to the King's cause in Scotland. The people had long felt that the administration of justice was partial and corrupt; but the nobility now became alarmed

for their safety; and they engaged, after the example of their ancestors, in a confederacy against the throne.

Meanwhile, Charles and his dignified ecclesiastics were zealously employed in framing canons and a liturgy for the use of a people who held both in abhorrence. The canons for establishing ecclesiastical jurisdiction were first promulgated. They asserted that the King's authority was absolute and unlimited; they ordained that the clergy should not pray extemporaneously, but should read the printed form prescribed in the liturgy.

The Presbyterians, who professed to regard Jesus Christ as the head of the church, and considered the church in its doctrine and discipline to be totally independent of the civil power, were filled with indignation at seeing a body of ecclesiastical laws established without the consent of the church itself, which only was competent to sanction any change in its worship or discipline.

The liturgy, which was absurdly sanctioned before it was prepared, was, with little variation, copied from that used by the church of England: Great prejudices were therefore entertained against it; the Presbyterians regarded it as a preparation for the introduction of Popery. In obedience to a royal mandate for the immediate observance of the liturgy, A. D. 1637. the Dean of Edinburgh prepared to officiate in St Giles's, and the Bishop of Argyll in the Grayfriars' church.

To increase the solemnity, the judges, the prelates, and a part of the council, attended; and, from the novelty of the spectacle, a large and indiscriminate concourse of people assembled to witness it. The congregation in St Giles's remained quiet until the Dean opened the book and began the service. An old woman suddenly started up, and, exclaiming aloud against the supposed mass, threw the stool on which she had sat at the Dean's head.

A wild uproar immediately commenced: The service was interrupted; a party of women made towards the desk; and the Dean with difficulty disengaged himself from his surplice, and fled. In vain did the Bishop of Edinburgh address the enraged multitude: Stones and other missiles were thrown at the pulpit, and his life was saved only by the timely interference of the magistrates. After the most turbulent of the rioters had been turned out of the church, the service was resumed; but the multitude broke the windows and battered the doors, exclaiming furiously, "A Pope, a Pope! Antichrist! Stone him, stone him!" In the Grayfriars, the ser-

vice was also interrupted by groans and loud lamentation; but it was concluded in the evening without interruption.

Though the tumult was conducted by persons of low condition, and without any previous concert, the sense of the nation was well known and unequivocally expressed; for, except at St Andrew's, and in the cathedrals of Brechin, Ross, and Dunblane, the bishops, though very assiduous, were equally unsuccessful. Contrary to every principle of sound policy, the Chancellor issued orders to use coercive measures against the nonconformists. In this extremity, Henderson, a zealous Presbyterian clergyman, with several others, petitioned the Privy Council against this arbitrary prosecution, as the liturgy was not yet sanctioned by the General Assembly of the church or by the Parliament. Many of the nobility and gentry seconded the application of their ministers.

Intimidated by this strong expression of national feeling, the Privy Council privately represented to the King the danger of increasing the popular discontent; but he remained inflexible. When this unhappy determination was known, multitudes of all ranks resorted to Edinburgh, from every county south of the Grampian hills. Supplications from two hundred parishes were forwarded; the pulpits resounded with vehement declamation against Episcopacy; and the populace, who had first opposed the innovation, were compared by the preachers to Balaam's ass, an animal stupid in itself, but whose mouth was miraculously opened to the admiration of the whole world.

Two proclamations were issued, commanding the multitude to disperse from Edinburgh, transferring the seat of government and of justice to Linlithgow, and suspending the consideration of ecclesiastical grievances for an indefinite period. It was obviously the King's purpose to divide the supplicants, or weary them by delay: But they preferred a formal accusation against the prelates, as the authors and advisers of the liturgy and canons, and consequently of the discord between the King and the people.

The nobility, the gentry, the clergy, all ranks, and almost every congregation in the kingdom, subscribed the accusation. And, in order to proceed with unanimity and vigour, a few individuals were delegated from each of these four orders, to represent the rest, and meet at Edinburgh. Such was the origin of the celebrated Tables, which adopted judicious but bold measures, and particularly adapted to the existing emergency.

To cement their union, they proposed the renewal of the

covenant; the origin of which may be traced to the Reformation, when the Lords of the Congregation undertook the protection of the infant church. The articles of the covenant consisted of a renunciation of the errors of Popery, signed by the late King in his youth; then followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers solemnly engaged themselves to resist every innovation in religion subversive of Presbytery.

An engagement, once popular, and still venerated, was announced with suitable preparation. The Tables exhorted their constituents to repair to Edinburgh, to a general and solemn meeting, which was to be introduced by a preparatory fast.

The people obeyed the summons with alacrity, and met in the Grayfriars' church. There the covenant was solemnly renewed. The nobility, the clergy, the gentry, and the burgesses, subscribed it, and with uplifted hands swore to observe it. Copies of this deed were dispersed throughout the kingdom; and as every thing done by the Covenanters was alleged to be for the glory of God, the honour of the King, and the good of the country, persons of all ranks and of both sexes hastened to subscribe it. Even the King's ministers and counsellors were infected with the enthusiasm of the times.

A combination so powerful, so resolute, and so vigorous in its efforts to obtain a religious reform, alarmed the King; who immediately despatched the Marquis of Hamilton into Scotland with authority to treat with the Covenanters. The Marquis was honourably received, but in a manner artfully concerted to display their strength.

Twenty thousand persons, whom a solemn fast had attracted to Edinburgh, were arranged for his reception on foot and on horseback, from Leith to Musselburgh; and six hundred clergymen, dressed in their black gowns, were conspicuous upon an eminence.

It was soon discovered that the object of Hamilton was to temporize, and rather to obtain than to make concessions. He offered to suspend the canons and the liturgy till they could be received without offence, and to regulate the High Commission so that it should be no longer oppressive to the nation; but he required in return a renunciation of the covenant. To this demand the malecontents replied, that "they would sooner renounce their baptism than the covenant."

Hamilton returned to London, and reported the unsuccessful termination of his mission. He was despatched a second time, with new proposals; which were rejected. Conces-

sions still more ample were subsequently offered,—the unconditional removal of the canons and the liturgy, and the abolition of the High Commission: But as Charles would not consent to abolish Episcopacy, the negotiation was frustrated. The Covenanters, however, acquiesced in a proposal to summon an Assembly of the church and a Parliament, being assured of their superior influence in both.

The ecclesiastical Assembly was held at Glasgow. The chiefs of the covenant, who had been elected lay-elders, were, after some opposition, recognized and admitted by the Assembly. An act for the utter abolition of Episcopacy was the first object of their attention. The clergy of that persuasion were individually accused of the most flagrant crimes, and collectively of arrogance and usurpation. With the private approbation of the King, the bishops entered a protest, declaring the court incompetent to try the prelates; and the commissioner, agreeably to his instructions, dissolved the assembly. But this menace was disregarded by a body ready to convene without authority, and indisposed to separate without executing their avowed designs.

Encouraged by the accession of the Earl of Argyll, who was then the most powerful among the Scottish nobility, the Assembly continued to sit until they finished their business. Episcopacy, the High Commission, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished as unlawful. All the acts of Assembly since the accession of James the Sixth to the crown of England were rescinded, as having been procured by the arbitrary influence of the Sovereign; and the acts of Parliament which sanctioned Episcopal innovation were declared to be of no obligation. To consummate their conclusion, they ordained that every one attached to their party should subscribe the covenant, under pain of excommunication.

A. D. 1639. Having taken these bold steps, it became necessary for the Covenanters to maintain their religious opinions by military force; for they were certain that the King would disapprove of their proceedings. They prepared for the contest with ardour. Their measures were directed with ability, vigour, and promptitude. The whole kingdom being in a manner engaged in the covenant, men of talents readily presented themselves, and took the lead; of whom the chief were, the Earls of Argyll, Rothes, Cassillis, Montrose, Lothian, and the Lords Lindsay, Loudon, Yester, and Balmerino. Alexander Lessly, afterwards Earl of Leven, was invited by the Earl of Rothes to take the chief command; and many other Scottish officers, who had acquired reputation in Germany

under the renowned Gustavus Adolphus, embraced the covenant, and returned home to assist their countrymen.

Troops were collected and disciplined; arms were imported from foreign countries; one hundred thousand crowns were transmitted from France; and a close correspondence was maintained with the English Puritans.

Military operations speedily commenced. Many of the royal castles were taken; and the whole country, except a small part in the North, where the royal authority was supported by the Marquis of Huntly, was reduced by the forces of the Covenanters. Montrose and Lessly collected an army of seven thousand men in the counties of Perth and Angus, imposed the covenant upon Aberdeen, and conducted Huntly as a hostage to Edinburgh.

Charles hastened his military preparations for subduing the refractory spirit of the Scots and establishing Episcopacy; but his adversaries anticipated his designs: With the greatest enthusiasm they undertook the fortification of Leith; the nobles, the gentry, and even ladies of the first distinction, voluntarily assisted the workmen in transporting materials. The Marquis of Hamilton arrived before Leith with a fleet, with the purpose of dividing or weakening the forces of the Covenanters. He found it secured from assault; he was therefore obliged to land his forces on the small islands scattered about in the Forth.

Accompanied by a splendid train of nobles, the King advanced from York to Berwick. The Covenanters' forces increased rapidly to twenty-four thousand men; the royal army amounted to twenty thousand, but they were superior in cavalry. The Scottish officers were skilful and experienced; their troops, though undisciplined and badly armed, were animated with zeal for their religion and liberty.

So prudent were their leaders in maintaining appearances of moderation, that they sent submissive messages to the King, requesting permission to treat with him. His situation became every day more critical and perplexing; it was dangerous to advance, and disgraceful to retreat.

From a precipitate recourse to arms, Charles was induced to conclude a sudden pacification. He consented to withdraw his fleet and army, to convoke a General Assembly and a Parliament to compose all differences. The Covenanters agreed to disarm and disperse, to restore the fortresses they had taken, and to acknowledge the royal authority.

The General Assembly was convened at Edinburgh. The Earl of Traquair, as commissioner, conducted himself with

prudence and moderation: The Presbyterians recapitulated their grievances, and adhered to the conclusions of the last Assembly; the covenant was renewed and subscribed by Traquair, who promised to procure its ratification in the Parliament, and then dissolved the Assembly. When the Parliament assembled, to make its constitution complete, an act was prepared substituting the representatives of the lesser barons for the prelates, as the third estate. After the regulation of various matters relative to their freedom and privileges, the members demanded a confirmation of the decision of the last Assembly, together with the repeal of every statute establishing prelacy; but, before a single report could be made to Parliament, their deliberations were interrupted by a sudden prorogation.

A.D. 1640. Notwithstanding the members agreed to disperse, as an evidence of submission to the royal authority, they despatched the Earls of Dunfermline and Loudon to remonstrate with the King against the prorogation, and to vindicate their acts. Upon their arrival at London, they found that the renewal of the war had been previously determined. Their credentials were refused as unsatisfactory; they were committed to the Tower, upon a charge of corresponding secretly with the French King; and it is alleged that Loudon, the reputed author of the detected letter, narrowly escaped being put to death, through the intercession of Hamilton, who assured the King that if Loudon were executed Scotland would be lost for ever.

The war was renewed with great advantages on the side of the Covenanters; who, having foreseen the probability of being obliged to support their pretensions by arms, were careful, in disbanding their late troops, to make such arrangements as should make it easy for them to collect their strength.

No sooner was the war-trumpet sounded by their spiritual and temporal leaders, than the officers and soldiers, who had orders to be ready on the first summons, repaired to their rendezvous. Emulous to defend their country and their liberty, men of all ranks promptly assisted in providing the necessary supplies. Voluntary contributions were made at the churches; the nobility and gentry sent their plate to the mint; the rich advanced sums of money for the public service, or pledged their credit for necessaries; and cloth for tents was provided by the women. General Lessly invested Edinburgh castle, Argyll traversed the Highlands with a train

of artillery, and Munro maintained subordination in the north-east counties.

Charles experienced more difficulty in collecting his forces and preparing for action. As the English were disinclined to the war, his resources were insufficient to support his troops; and he applied in vain for assistance to the English Parliament. By loans from his courtiers and exactions from the clergy, he mustered an army of nineteen thousand foot and two thousand horse; which he sent to the North, under the command of the Earls of Northumberland and Strafford, and Lord Conway.

As soon as the royal army approached Newcastle, the Covenanters assembled at Dunse. Their army consisted of twenty-three thousand foot and three thousand horse, with a train of light field-pieces made of leather. But they still professed their earnest desire to obtain peace; and entered England, as they declared, with no other view than to obtain access to the King's person, and lay their humble petitions at his royal feet.

In their march, they were opposed, at Newburn-upon-Tyne, by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men, under Conway. General Lessly first requested permission to pass unmolested; but, on a shot being fired by an English sentinel, the Scots unexpectedly commenced such a fire of artillery, that the English abandoned their position, and retreated with precipitation to Durham and York. In this encounter, about fifty of the English fell; their standard was captured; and their commander taken prisoner.

The victorious Covenanters obtained immediate possession of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Shields, and Durham; but they offered no violence to the persons or property of the inhabitants; and they sent messengers to the King, who was then at York, to renew their protestations of loyalty and submission, and to crave forgiveness for the unavoidable effusion of English blood. In the extremity to which he was reduced, Charles found it necessary to dissemble his resentment. On what side soever he turned his eyes, the prospect was cheerless and alarming: His treasury was exhausted, the revenue was anticipated, his kingdom was full of murmurs, and a hostile army of his subjects was ready to overwhelm him.

As the less of two evils, he condescended to a treaty with the Scots; and named sixteen English noblemen to negotiate with the Committee of Scottish Estates, at Rippon. A cessation of arms was speedily determined on: The Scots were

to be allowed eight hundred and fifty pounds a day during their stay in England. Thus, Charles, the sovereign of two nations, was reduced to the singular necessity of supporting two hostile armies at once in the field. At the request of the English commissioners, the treaty was transferred to London: But this step is considered as one of the series of capital errors which accelerated the tragical fall of the King and the subversion of his government.

CHAPTER III.

Treaty concluded. The Parliament supersedes the royal authority. Irish massacre. Affairs of England. Civil war. The Scots make common cause with the English. Solemn league and covenant.

THE indifference with which the English endured the invasion of their country by the Covenanters, can be accounted for only from the general disaffection which, by a series of impolitic measures, had been increasing for above thirty years. The grievances of the English were analogous to those of the Scots; and the successful resistance of the latter suggested to the former a similar remedy. In compliance with the wishes of his subjects, and in hopes of obtaining pecuniary aid, Charles issued orders for convoking the (long) Parliament. Whatever jealousies existed between the Presbyterians and the Puritans on the subject of religion, were for a time suspended; and both parties coalesced in returning such members to the House of Commons as were zealous in the cause of religious and political reform.

At the opening of Parliament, Charles applied for aid to repel the Covenanters; but the popular leaders, in order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired, and to inspire their friends with confidence as well as to overawe their enemies, judged it eligible to delay the departure of the Scots, and treated them as allies rather than as enemies. Their commissioners, the Earl of Rothes, Lords Archibald Johnstoun and Loudon, were flattered and caressed. Henderson, with other Presbyterian clergymen who attended the embassy, were openly permitted to practice their own mode of worship, which had not been tolerated hitherto in England.

From the dawn of the Sabbath-day till late in the evening, multitudes flocked to their churches; and such as could not find admission for the throng, clung to the doors or the windows, in hopes of catching some broken phrase of the sermon, or the distant murmurs of the preacher's voice.

Meanwhile, the treaty between the King and the Covenanters advanced but slowly: The latter rejected every verbal concession or promise of favour, and required every particular to be submitted to writing,—refusing even to negotiate in the presence of the King. In vain did Charles request that the Covenanters would adhere to their original demands at Berwick, and be contented with the enjoyment of their civil and religious rights.

At length, the consent of Charles was reluctantly obtained to the following articles: That the acts of the late Parliament should be published in his Majesty's name; that the national fortresses should be intrusted to Scotsmen only, nominated by the Estates; that their countrymen in England and Ireland should be absolved from all oaths inimical to the covenant; that the Scottish nation should be indemnified for the heavy losses and charges of the war; that their ships and goods should be restored, and an equivalent granted for the damages sustained; that all opprobrious proclamations should be recalled; that public incendiaries who had occasioned the late hostilities, should be tried by their respective Parliaments, and punished suitably to their demerit; and that the religion and liberty of the nation, thus established, should be permanently secured.

The article for indemnification was referred to the English Parliament; which readily acquiesced in the reasonableness of the claim, and voted three hundred thousand pounds for the purpose of detaining the Scots in arms, as well as to compensate their losses.

A Parliamentary examination of grievances was immediately instituted; and the result was, the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, the ablest and the most virtuous of the King's ministers. Archbishop Laud, who had usurped a patriarchal authority over the church, and from whom the obnoxious liturgy and canons had emanated, and who was suspected of favouring Popery, was also impeached.

Strafford, whose unmerited fate has been universally lamented, was convicted, without legal evidence of guilt. According to the ordinary dispensation of justice, Charles might have remained a silent spectator of his fate; but being unprepared for the event of a rupture with his Parliament, he was reduced, by the bill of attainder, to the cruel necessity of consenting to the death of his favourite minister.

A. D. 1641. Disappointed in his expectations of assistance from the Parliament, Charles endeavoured to conciliate the Scots. Rothes was detached from the popular cause by al-

luring promises; Montrose, indignant at Argyll's influence in the cabinet and Lessly's appointment as commander in chief, was easily regained to the royal interest; but being secretly detected in a correspondence subversive of the covenant, which excited a general alarm, he was imprisoned in Edinburgh castle. Such was the state of affairs when the King resolved to visit his native country, expecting that his presence there would unite and animate his friends, and disconcert the machinations of his enemies.

But the proceedings of the Scottish Parliament, which assembled shortly after his arrival, blasted his hopes. The Lords of Articles, without whose consent no bill could be introduced into Parliament, were abrogated; royal proclamations, enjoining obedience under pain of treason, were to be illegal and nugatory; triennial Parliaments were appointed; and it was enacted, that, during the prorogation or dissolution of that body, the conservation of the public peace should be intrusted to commissioners expressly appointed by Parliament.

To these encroachments, which suspended or annihilated the royal prerogative in Scotland, Charles quietly though reluctantly submitted; and he even affected to caress the popular leaders. By whatever imprudence or misconduct the King was thus involved and embarrassed, it is impossible to reflect upon his unfortunate condition without emotions of pity: Events over which he had no control, no less than faction and fanaticism, concurred to hasten the ruin of that unhappy prince.

The spirit of disaffection and turbulence which prevailed in Britain, unhappily extended to Ireland. In the administration of that kingdom, Charles adopted the laudable plan suggested and pursued by his father,—to reconcile the natives to the authority of the laws, by the regular administration of justice, and to reclaim them from sloth and barbarism by introducing arts and industry among them.

Many British families had been induced to migrate to Ireland, and to colonize different parts of it. During the government of Strafford, agriculture and commerce were rapidly improving; and the linen manufacture, now the staple of that country, was introduced. After the disgrace and execution of Strafford, the Irish Parliament became as unmanageable as that of England or Scotland. The colonists, the chief movers of insubordination, did not reflect, in their rage for liberty, upon the danger of weakening the authority of government, in a country where the Protestants scarcely

constituted the sixth part of the inhabitants, and where more than the half of the nation was still in a state of wild barbarity.

The old Irish observed with pleasure the depression of the royal authority; and determined on a general revolt, to emancipate their country from the dominion of foreigners, and chastise the insults of profane heretics.

Roger More, a gentleman of distinguished abilities and valour, Lord Macguire, and Sir Phelim O'Neal, the most powerful of the old Irish chieftains, were the leaders of this conspiracy, excited by motives of the most debasing superstition, the most insatiable rapine, and the most inhuman revenge. The city and castle of Dublin were saved by a timely discovery of the plot; but the intelligence was obtained at too late a period to enable the Government to adopt measures for the general defence.

The English Protestants were despoiled of their property: Their cattle were seized and their plantations ravaged. In Ulster, the defenceless victims, dispersed and disarmed, were involved in one indiscriminate slaughter: No rank was excepted, no age nor sex was respected or spared; neither the rites of hospitality nor the ties of consanguinity or friendship afforded protection; even the dearest connexions of nature were dissolved.

A horrible devastation, such as the most barbarous nations have rarely inflicted, was excited by a religious phrensy, and prolonged by revenge. Few of the Scottish settlers were involved in these calamities: The Irish, apprehensive of their numbers, endeavoured to secure their neutrality,—affecting to spare them from the pretext of a common origin. But the cautious Scots placed little confidence in their professions: Those who could not readily find means of escape from Ireland, retired to places of strength, for protection, and maintained their positions till they were relieved from Scotland. The number who perished by these barbarities has been estimated at forty thousand. A miserable remnant of the English escaped, and found refuge in Dublin.

Intelligence of this insurrection was received by the King while he was preparing to set out for London. He immediately applied to the Scottish Parliament for military aid. A regiment of fifteen hundred men was despatched to Ulster; and an army of ten thousand men was voted for the same service. But the Scots, being unprovided with the means for transporting and maintaining such a numerous force, appointed commissioners to treat with the English Commons.

In consequence of the mutual jealousies of the King and the Parliament, the negotiation was retarded: No steps towards chastising the Irish insurgents were taken by the Commons, but such as also tended to augment their own power. Under pretence of hastening the Irish levies, they raised pecuniary contributions, and took arms from the King's magazines.

A civil war was now evidently approaching. The Commons framed the memorable remonstrance in which were enumerated the national grievances, as well as every unpopular measure the King had pursued. From this period, the Parliamentary proceedings became more daring and violent. An impeachment was presented against a number of the bishops, as enemies of the state. The King immediately retaliated, by preferring a charge of treason against five of the most popular leaders, and ordered them to be taken into custody. A series of transactions followed,—rash and unhappy on the part of the King, but insulting, vindictive, and rebellious, on the side of the Commons.

A. D. 1642. Charles at last resolved to support his authority by arms; and the royal standard was erected at Nottingham,—the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom; both parties being determined to refer the justice of their cause to the decision of the sword.

The military preparations of the Parliament were conducted with ability and vigour. The levies which had been prepared for suppressing the Irish rebellion, were easily induced to support the popular cause. Multitudes flocked to inlist under the Parliament; and such vast quantities of plate were brought to the mint for maintaining the troops, that it could hardly be stowed. The city of London and most of the great corporations of the kingdom declared for the Parliament; which seized all the royal magazines of arms and ammunition: And almost all the seaports, the customs of which yielded a considerable and constant supply, were in the possession of the Commons.

The King encountered more difficulty in preparing for the field. He was attended, indeed, by a splendid train of nobles and a numerous body of landed gentlemen: But their resources for immediate action were inconsiderable. By disposing of the crown jewels, the Queen purchased a cargo of arms and ammunition in Holland; and Charles roused his adherents to arms, with a spirit and an address that surprised both his friends and enemies.

Of these ominous preparations, and the sanguinary contests which followed, the Scots were not unconcerned spec-

tators. They offered to mediate between the contending parties; but without success. The Parliament solicited their assistance, and the King required their neutrality. But though the Scots had been desirous to maintain it, a safe neutrality was no longer politic or practicable.

As the Covenanters had every thing to fear from the vengeance of the King, should he succeed in crushing the power of his enemies, they resolved to make common cause with the English Parliament. They were confirmed in this resolution, by the discovery of an alarming conspiracy concerted between the Queen and the Earls of Montrose, Aboyne, Airly, and Nithsdale, that the Macdonalds in the Isles and the Gordons in the North should take arms and overpower the unprepared Covenanters.

A religious phrensy was mingled with the prevailing passion for civil liberty. Unsatisfied with having accomplished the restoration of Presbytery in their own country, the Scots indulged an ardent passion for propagating that system in England and Ireland. Recollecting the unanimity that had been maintained by means of the covenant, in their opposition to Prelacy, the Scots now proposed that the two nations should enter into an engagement for the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; and also for the preservation of the rights and privileges of Parliament and the defence of the King's person and government.

A compact was accordingly framed, well known by the name of *the Solemn League and Covenant*, with the ultimate view of effecting a religious reformation in England and Ireland, "according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed churches." The Convention of Estates and the General Assembly approved unanimously of this deed; which was transmitted to London, and solemnly ratified by the English Parliament and an assembly of divines at Westminster.

CHAPTER IV.

Scottish army joins the Parliamentary forces. Battle of Long-Marston-Moor. Civil war in Scotland. Montrose defeats Lords Elcho, Burleigh, and Gordon—pillages Aberdeen—ravages the West Highlands—defeats the Campbells—Baillie and Hurry—and the Covenanters at Kilsyth—is defeated at Ettrick Forest. Ecclesiastical affairs. Trial and execution of Charles.

DETERMINED that the sword should carry conviction to all incredulous minds, the Scots prepared themselves for mi-

litary service. A remittance from England of one hundred thousand pounds, enabled them to muster and equip an army of twenty-one thousand men, commanded by the Earl of Leven; and such was their ardour and impatience, that they crossed the Tweed in the depth of winter, during a severe storm, in the expectation of surprising Newcastle before it could be fortified.

Having summoned that town without effect, they passed the Tyne, and were joined by a Parliamentary army, under Sir Thomas Fairfax. The generals of the combined armies immediately determined to invest the city of York, whither the Marquis of Newcastle, with a Royal army, had retired.

Prince Rupert, the King's nephew, hastened, with a considerable force, to the relief of that city. Upon his approach, the Parliamentary forces raised the siege, and prepared to give battle to the English on Long-Marston-Moor, a large plain about eight miles distant from York. The numbers on each side were nearly equal; and for the space of a century before, England had not seen at one time fifty thousand men arrayed for battle.

The right wing of the Parliamentary army was commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax,—it consisted of all his horse and three regiments of Scottish cavalry; the left wing was commanded by the Earl of Manchester and General Cromwell; the main body of the infantry was commanded by the Earl of Leven; and a body of English and Scottish foot, as a reserve, was placed under Lord Fairfax.

The Earl of Newcastle commanded the right wing of the Royal army; Prince Rupert the left; Generals Goring and Porter, with Sir Thomas Lucas, commanded the centre.

1644. July 3. Both sides being thus drawn up in battalia, the conflict began at seven in the morning. Prince Rupert made a desperate charge, disordered the right wing under Fairfax, and quickly routed them. Inspired with the enthusiasm of emulation, the troops under Lucas, Goring, and Porter, overpowered the infantry under the Earl of Leven, and pursued them off the field.

But the palm of victory, thus almost obtained, was unexpectedly snatched from the Royalists; for Cromwell, with his *Iron Brigade*, having routed the troops under the Earl of Newcastle, made a furious attack upon the Prince's rear; and being joined by Sir Thomas Fairfax with a body of troops which he had rallied, they attacked the scattered divisions of the Royalists, who had separated in the ardour of pur-

suit; and, after an engagement of three hours, completely defeated them.

The Earl of Leven, after the defeat of his troops, believing the battle to be irretrievably lost, fled northward forty miles from the scene of action. He was overtaken about noon the ensuing day, by a messenger with a despatch. "What news?" said the General, as he received the letter. "All is safe, may it please your Excellency: The Parliament has gained a great victory!" "Would to God I had died on the field of battle!" replied the General, and instantly set off to rejoin the army.

The loss of this battle, and the dissentions which it occasioned among the officers of the Royal army, were disastrous to the cause of Charles in the North of England. The city of York and the town of Newcastle were quickly reduced; a body of Royalists was defeated in Westmoreland; and the Northern counties were subdued and occupied by the Parliamentary forces.

But the war was suddenly rekindled in Scotland by James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, a nobleman of a bold spirit, but of a versatile genius. Indignant at the disgrace of his late imprisonment by the Covenanters, and ambitious of military renown, he readily entered into the desperate enterprise of restoring the King's authority in Scotland by force of arms, or at least of raising such commotions as should oblige the Covenanters to recall their forces from England.

He erected the royal standard at Dumfries, under circumstances very inauspicious. The few troops which he had been able to collect were mutinous, and indisposed to second the daring courage of their leader. His ardent spirit, however, became impatient for action. With two attendants only, he lurked in Stratherne, in the disguise of a groom, until he received intelligence of the approach of two thousand auxiliaries, which had landed in Argyllshire. He unexpectedly joined them in Atholl, in the garb of a mountaineer.

As Argyll was in full pursuit of the Irish, and Lord Elcho was stationed at Perth with an army of six thousand Covenanters, Montrose, with characteristic promptitude, gave battle to the latter at Tippermuir, and killed or wounded two thousand of them. He availed himself of his advantage, by seizing Perth, where he found abundance of ammunition and necessaries. Being joined by some noblemen with their vassals, he abandoned Perth as untenable, and retired northward, in expectation of being reinforced by the Gordons.

Lord Burleigh and Lewis Gordon, with two thousand seven hundred men, opposed his advance at the river Dee; but having crossed the stream a little above, at a ford, he bore down with fury on the flanks of his enemies, and put them to an ignominious flight. The defenceless citizens of Aberdeen, who had declared for the covenant, were treated with great cruelty by the merciless victor. During five days, his troops pillaged the town and slaughtered the inhabitants; whose dead bodies lay unburied in the streets, until the appearance of Argyll with a superior force. Montrose made a precipitate retreat towards the river Spey.

There he was unexpectedly opposed by the whole force of the Gordons: But his daring spirit delighted in perilous undertakings. He buried his artillery in a moss, and fled to the mountains; and succeeded, by a series of skilful evolutions, to elude the vigilance of his pursuers. His personal enmity to Argyll induced him to gratify a sanguinary revenge on the innocent clan of the Campbells.

In the depth of winter, he penetrated, by paths deemed impassable, into the recesses of Argyllshire; and, disregarding the dictates of humanity and the generosity of a brave soldier, he indulged in all the destructive fury of a savage war. Argyll, Lorn, Breadalbane, and to the confines of Lochaber, presented a uniform scene of merciless devastation.

Argyll hastened to defend his countrymen; and having collected his scattered clan, he advanced to Inverlochy, and assumed an attitude of defiance. His watchful enemy suddenly reappeared and routed the Campbells, of whom fifteen hundred were left dead upon the field of battle. The Highlanders then joined the conqueror in considerable numbers. He again retired to the North; and being reinforced by the Grants and Gordons, he treated all as enemies who refused or declined to aid the Royal cause. Elgin, Cullen, and Banff, were pillaged, and Stonehaven was consigned to the flames.

An uninterrupted series of splendid achievements succeeded these ravages. Though Montrose was opposed at the Tay by Generals Baillie and Hurry, who had been recalled from England with six regiments of horse and foot, he stormed and pillaged Dundee, which was partially burned. He then retired again to the North. To prevent his escape, Baillie and Hurry divided their forces: The former ravaged Atholl, in retaliation for the cruelties of Montrose, and to deter that active leader from making another attempt on the

West; the latter, reinforced by the garrison of Inverness, advanced to Alderne, a village near Nairne, where Montrose lay encamped. A battle ensued, and two thousand of Hurry's soldiers perished on the field. Constrained by the impetuosity of the nobles and the clergy, Baillie advanced to revenge the defeat of Hurry, and arrest the victor's progress. The hostile forces encountered at Alford, and victory again declared for Montrose.

With an army augmented to six thousand men, he emerged from behind the hills, and threatened the Lowland counties with devastation. His last and most splendid victory was obtained at Kilsyth; where from four to five thousand of the Covenanters were killed, and as he gave no quarter few escaped.

Having annihilated the enemy's forces in Scotland, he advanced to the Borders, with diminished numbers, expecting a reinforcement of cavalry under Lord Digby, for the purpose of advancing into England to the relief of Charles. But he was surprised at Philipshaugh, by General David Lessly, who had been detached from the Scottish army in England, in order to check the career of Montrose.

Upon receiving intelligence that the Royalists were stationed at Ettrick Forest, he approached under night, unperceived by their scouts. In the morning, Montrose, when too late, became sensible of his temerity and negligence. Notwithstanding his troops were outnumbered and attacked by surprise, he conducted himself with gallantry and great ability, sustaining for some time the shock of an unequal combat.

His foot was broken by Lessly's desperate charge; and he was reluctantly compelled to flee with a few horse into the Highlands. A thousand Royalists were slain in the conflict; and the victors retaliated upon the vanquished the cruelty of Montrose at the battle of Kilsyth. The Irish were uniformly refused quarter, as banditti, proscribed by the laws of war. Six persons of distinction, who had shared the fortunes of Montrose, were condemned and executed; and it is alleged that the Presbyterian clergy, with unbecoming zeal, importuned the Parliament of Scotland not to pity nor spare the unfortunate delinquents.

A. D. 1645. During these political convulsions, the decline of Episcopacy in both kingdoms was very apparent. A deputation from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had assembled at Westminster, with the leaders of the English Independents, to digest a code of ecclesiastical

laws, which should supersede the canons and the liturgy. The Independents contended for a simple conformity with the primitive churches: The Presbyterians maintained, that the form of worship and discipline prescribed by John Knox at the Reformation was the best model for a national church; and, actuated by the spirit of an exclusive religion, they reprobated toleration, as inconsistent with the covenant, and as the source of disunion and heresy. Both parties concurred in opinion that the Scriptures were the only unerring and complete rule of doctrine and practice: They differed as to the divine origin of classical presbytery, provincial, national, and œcumenical synods.

An accommodation being recommended by the English Commons, it was agreed that the Presbyterian form of government should be established for a time, to be altered or reversed as circumstances might require. A confession of faith, with a directory for public worship, and a form of ordination, concluded the labours of the Assembly. But these conclusions, though ratified by the English and Scottish Parliaments, were nowhere established in England except in London and Lancashire.

After the battle of Naseby, the King's fortunes rapidly declined. The fortresses that his troops had occupied, and the cities that had declared in his favour, were successively reduced by the Parliamentarians. In vain did he attempt to negotiate or obtain concessions from his enemies; they would not listen to any terms that did not include his unconditional submission. Destitute of power, and exposed to the fury of the conquerors, he was incapable of negotiating upon equal terms with them; and his only hopes of better fortune arose from the disunion of his enemies.

The coalition of the Presbyterians and Independents was effected by a feeling of common danger; but when victory had quelled their apprehensions, their religious disputes again agitated the kingdom. While Charles was on the watch to avail himself of those dissentions, he was at a loss to determine with which of the parties he could most advantageously coalesce. Though the Covenanters were friendly to monarchy, they were bent upon the extirpation of Episcopacy; and the King uniformly evinced a disposition to put episcopal jurisdiction in competition with the royal authority. The Independents discovered no inclination to erect themselves into a national church; and they might acquiesce in the establishment of Episcopacy; but they were resolute in their determination to establish a republican government. Com-

pelled at last by necessity more than by choice, the unfortunate Charles, after an abortive attempt to escape into Scotland, retired to the Scottish camp before Newark, expecting to engage the arms of his countrymen in his service and support.

Although the Scottish generals were aware of the King's intentions, they affected great surprise at his appearance; and while they scrupulously paid him external honours, by appointing him a guard, they made him in reality a prisoner; for his friends were kept at a distance, and his correspondence with them was scrutinized. In the transactions which succeeded, for surrendering the King's person, the Scots have been accused of avarice and cruelty. It may be observed, however, that they were placed in a situation perplexing and hazardous. They could not retain the King's person and defend his government, without deserting their original engagements with the Parliament; and thus, by incurring the imputation of treachery, rekindle the flames of civil war. Besides, the King was irreconcileable to the covenant; for though the Scots offered to replace him on the throne, if he would embrace the covenant and grant their original demands, he persevered in his inflexible obstinacy. Hence, should they support the royal authority unconditionally, the ruin of Presbytery would be inevitable; and, should the Parliamentarians maintain their ascendancy, they would not fail to chastise their allies for their perfidious dissolution of the covenant.

To these considerations must be added a solemn warning from the Commission of the Scottish Church not to desert the cause of their religion. This admonition was sufficient, in an age of enthusiasm for religion, to confirm the Scots in their resolution of abandoning their unfortunate Monarch; who was delivered to Parliamentary commissioners, and conducted to Holdenby castle, in Northamptonshire. Having compounded with their English allies for four hundred thousand pounds, in lieu of their arrears, the Scots returned home.

A. D. 1647. The civil war, thus terminated in England, was not quite extinguished in Scotland. Montrose had laid down his arms and retired to France, by command of the King. The Gordons in the North and the Macdonalds in the West, protracted a feeble resistance: But they fled and dispersed, upon the approach of Leslie; who stormed their castles, and extorted submission from their refractory chiefs.

No sooner was the King subdued, than the differences between the Presbyterians and the Independents became more visible. The Lords and Commons were attached to the former, and the army to the latter. A contest ensued—not for a liberal constitution, but for supremacy. Charles, now a captive, still made exertions to negotiate with the Parliament and the leaders of the army; but the latter, ever jealous, entertained doubts of his sincerity. The negotiations were frustrated; for the majority of the army having determined to establish a democracy, resolved upon the fall of the Parliament and the King together.

Though the Scots were at a distance from the scene of these important transactions, they were not inattentive to their consequences. Enraged at the degradation of the Presbyterian party, they addressed three requisitions to the English Parliament,—for the suppression of the sectaries, the disbanding of the army, and the restoration of the King's authority. To enforce this application, an undisciplined and ill-provided army of fourteen thousand men, under the Duke of Hamilton, was despatched into England.

Had the Scots and their anti-republican allies maintained a strict concordance, their operations might have been successful: But they pursued ill-concerted measures, and wasted the time for action in futile negotiations with the King. Cromwell and his associates meanwhile subdued or dispersed the disunited Royalists; and while the timid and irresolute Hamilton perplexed himself with the discordant opinions of his officers, he was attacked by Cromwell and Lambert. After an unmanly resistance, the Duke, with the greatest part of his army, submitted to the conqueror.

A.D. 1648. There remained now no expedient for restoring the King, but negotiation. The Parliament still affected to command the army; and a treaty was begun for composing the national disorders; when Cromwell, having secured the devotion of the army, resolved on the King's destruction, apprehensive that a general combination might be formed for his rescue. By the advice of a military council, held at Windsor, the General finally determined to subject his Sovereign to a judicial trial, for tyranny and maleadministration. The House of Commons, new-modelled by Cromwell, passed a vote declaring it high treason in a king to levy war against his Parliament; and notwithstanding the House of Peers refused to concur in this resolution, a committee of the Commons was appointed to prepare a charge, founded on this hypothetical principle, against the King.

A high court of justice, consisting of one hundred and thirty-three persons, was appointed, by ordinance, to assemble for this awful trial, in Westminster Hall. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was nominated president, and Coke was appointed the public prosecutor. The judges consisted of Cromwell, Ireton, and other delegates from the army; some members of the Commons, with a number of the citizens of London noted for their attachment to the popular cause, though of little respectability either in point of family or character.

Before this execrable tribunal was the King of Great Britain arraigned, and accused of waging a destructive war against the Parliament and the people, in order to establish a tyrannical government. The deportment of the King on this awful occasion was composed and dignified. When presented before the court, he arose, and, without deigning to uncover his head, surveyed his judges with a look of indignation and disdain.

While the solicitor read the charge impeaching his Sovereign as a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and an implacable enemy to the commonwealth, the King touched his shoulders thrice with his cane, and admonished him to desist. When the President informed Charles that the court expected his defence, he replied, with great temper and dignity, that he was their sovereign by birth, they were his subjects by inheritance; that, as their native hereditary prince, he was amenable to no human tribunal; that, without the authority of a free Parliament, they had assumed a power which the Parliament had never recognized; that he was intrusted with a sacred inviolable charge, the liberties of his people, which he would not now betray or compromise by acknowledging an authority derived from military usurpation and subversive of the constitution.

Thrice was he produced at the bar, and as often declined the competency of the court. His refusal was recorded as a default; and the judges having formally substantiated the impeachment that he had appeared in arms against the Parliament, pronounced him guilty, and sentenced him to be beheaded. Three days only elapsed between his sentence and execution. During that interval, he employed himself chiefly in religious preparations for his awful destiny.

These bold and violent proceedings astonished all Europe. The French and Dutch interfered without effect; and the Scots raised their feeble voice in vain in behalf of their King. The Queen and the Prince of Wales wrote the most

pathetic letters to the Parliament; but no entreaties could divert the stern regicides from their purpose.

On the morning of his execution, he arose early, and continued his devotions till noon, when he received the eucharist. He was then conducted from St James's to Whitehall, attended by his faithful servant and friend Bishop Juxon. After partaking of a slight refreshment, Charles ascended the scaffold, which was covered with black cloth: The block, the axe, and two executioners in vizors, stood fully in view. The scaffold was surrounded with troops; and an immense concourse of spectators, at a greater distance, awaited the catastrophe in silent horror.

The King viewed the appalling preparations with apparent firmness and tranquillity. As he could not be heard by the multitude, he addressed himself to the officers in attendance. He vindicated himself from the accusation of having commenced the civil war; he bewailed the unmerited fate of the Earl of Strafford, to whose death he had unjustly but reluctantly consented; he pronounced the cordial forgiveness of his enemies; and he admonished the people to submit to the laws, and acknowledge his son as their lawful sovereign.

His neck being adjusted to the block, one of the executioners severed his head from his body at a single stroke. A. D. 1649. Charles expired in the forty-ninth year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. His body was privately interred at Windsor.

CHAPTER V.

Charles the Second—proclaimed. Montrose lands—is defeated—and executed. Arrival of Charles from the Continent. Military operations. Battle of Dunbar. The Scots advance into England—are defeated at Worcester. King escapes to the Continent.

A.D. 1649. CHARLES the SECOND.—The execution of the King was productive of consequences very different from those which his enemies had anticipated. Instead of diffusing an abhorrence of monarchy, it excited universal commiseration and sympathy. In the contemplation of his unhappy fate, the errors of the Monarch were forgotten; and probably the restoration of his son was accelerated as much by this reaction as by any other cause.

But whatever dissatisfaction existed against the prevailing power, it was effectually suppressed by an overwhelming force of fifty thousand men, of whom Cromwell had the sole

command. That bold leader having procured the death of his Sovereign for grasping at absolute power, threw off his religious mask, and openly aspired at the chief authority.

Though the Scots had first set the example of resisting the late King, they were disinclined to a republican government; which was indeed irreconcileable with the feudal aristocracy to which they had been inured. They had taken arms to vindicate their religious rights, not to extinguish monarchy: They therefore determined to expiate the unforeseen consequences of delivering the King's power into the hands of his enemies, by declaring for his son. Charles the Second was immediately proclaimed in Scotland, and his title to the throne of Great Britain solemnly recognized by the Scottish Parliament.

Before his admission, however, to the exercise of the government, commissioners were despatched to Breda, for the ostensible purpose of inviting the young Monarch to assume the sceptre, but really to obtain his unqualified submission to the covenant, and to secure his obsequious conformity to the direction of the Parliament and the General Assembly. With these humiliating requisitions, the young King promised compliance: But he at the same time secretly accepted the offer of Montrose; who, believing in some fallacious predictions that he was to be the restorer of the house of Stuart to the throne, proposed to make a descent on the North of Scotland, and regain the kingdom by military force.

Invested with the authority of captain-general in Scotland, this gallant but ill-fated soldier landed with six hundred Germans, and increased his army, by a forcible levy, to fourteen hundred men. With this force he intended to penetrate to the Highlands; where he expected his former associates would flock to his standard. The Scots, instructed by experience, were prepared for resistance. No sooner had Montrose advanced from the hills on the confines of Ross, than he was attacked by a body of cavalry from an ambuscade. At the second charge, the undisciplined Highlanders fled; the Germans surrendered themselves; and though Montrose escaped from the field of battle, he was soon after ungenerously betrayed by a faithless friend, and delivered up to Strahan, the Scottish commander.

He was conducted, in the same mean habit in which he had been detected, as far as Dundee; where the inhabitants, touched by his misfortunes, magnanimously forgave the injuries he had done them, and furnished a wardrobe suitable to his rank. His treatment at Edinburgh was disgraceful

and cruel: He was met at the gates by the magistrates; placed on an elevated bench in a cart, to which he was pinioned; and in this manner was conducted, bareheaded, by the executioner, through the principal streets to the common prison. Even the formality of a trial was dispensed with, for he had been proscribed by his former attainder. He was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high;* his head was elevated above the gaol, his mutilated body was interred among malefactors, and his limbs were sent to be exposed above the gates of the four principal cities of the kingdom. His principal officers soon after experienced his fate, and followed him to the scaffold.

As there remained no other hope for recovering his father's dominions than by accepting the overtures of the Scots, Charles embarked with his court in a Dutch fleet, and arrived in three weeks at the mouth of the river Spey. Before he was permitted to land, he was obliged to ratify the covenant, and to listen without a murmur to prolix harangues for the edification and confirmation of his mind under his holy engagement. And, that he might not be seduced by wicked counsellors from his present purpose, the noblemen who had been his companions abroad were dismissed from his presence. The Duke of Buckingham only, of the English nobles, was permitted to remain in Scotland.

Though Charles was treated with apparent respect, he was possessed of little authority. Argyll and the Covenanters were not inclined to relinquish the power they had engrossed. Every attempt to reunite the different factions served only to inflame the jealousy of the King and the clergy. The latter were not remiss in prescribing severe penance to the King; which he endured with visible impatience; for it was not easy to bear their daily invectives against the iniquity of his father's house, the idolatry of his mother, and his own participation with wicked and dissolute persons.

No steps could have been taken by the Scots more offensive to the English republicans, than their negotiations with the King, and their submission to his authority. A war between the kingdoms became inevitable. Cromwell, who had severely chastised the Royalists in Ireland, was recalled from that kingdom, and appointed by the council of state to carry the war into Scotland.

* Montrose was executed at the Girth Cross; so called from its being at the limit of the sanctuary of Holyroodhouse. He was interred within the church of St Giles.

A. D. 1650. Being appointed captain-general of all the forces in England, Cromwell hastily collected an army of sixteen thousand veteran soldiers, and advanced to Berwick. The fame of his horrible exploits in Ireland had preceded him; and the Scots found it necessary to lay aside their party animosities, to prepare for a vigorous resistance. On the approach of the English, the open country from Berwick to Edinburgh was abandoned, and every means of subsistence removed or destroyed.

David Lessly, the Scottish general, had skilfully intrenched his army in a fortified camp, which protected Edinburgh; where he coolly awaited the approach of the English. From that secure position, Cromwell found it impossible to dislodge him by stratagem or force. At last he pretended to retire, and made a retrograde movement to Dunbar: But, disappointed of his hope to tempt the cautious Scots to abandon their position, he advanced again and encamped on the Pentland hills, with the view of cutting off Lessly's supplies from Stirling.

But Cromwell's situation was soon rendered disagreeable and critical. His enemies, ever vigilant and active, interrupted his communication with Dunbar; his provisions were nearly exhausted; and, from the advanced season, his dependance upon supplies by sea became very precarious. He therefore hastily retreated to Dunbar, to preserve a communication with his fleet. Lessly availed himself of his advantage, by pursuing and harassing the enemy, and seizing the most difficult passes to Berwick.

The English were now on the brink of ruin. A numerous army circumvested them, and hung upon the adjacent hills like a portentous cloud. In this extremity, Cromwell prepared to transport his artillery and infantry to England by sea, and to force his way through the enemy with his cavalry. But the ever-fortunate General was relieved from the doubtful issue of this hazardous attempt, by the fanaticism and imprudence of his enemies. The Scottish clergy, who had attended their camp, being less eminent for military skill than religious enthusiasm, overruled the judgment and remonstrances of Lessly; who, aware of the superior discipline of the English, had resolved upon defensive operations only. Having purged their army of all unconverted persons —among whom was the young Monarch—the clergy confidently assured their countrymen of victory, and persuaded them to descend, that they might smite the enemy.

Cromwell, who had also with his officers been observing a

solemn fast, upon perceiving the approach of the Scots, exclaimed, with devout exultation, "They are coming down to us: The Lord hath delivered them into our hands!" A tempestuous night prevented the Scots from advancing in order; and, next morning, before they were arranged in battalia, the English fell upon them, and, after a slight resistance, gained a complete victory. Nearly ten thousand were killed and wounded in the battle and flight; five thousand were driven to England, whence they were transported to the plantations for slaves. The remnant of the Scottish army terminated an ignominious flight at Stirling. The English advanced to Leith and Edinburgh; where Cromwell established his head-quarters.

This defeat, while it humbled the arrogant pretensions of the clergy, served to procure a greater indulgence for the King. As the public safety required a coalition of all parties, many of the Royalists and Episcopalians, upon doing a slight penance as an evidence of their repentance, were declared eligible for civil and military employments. Charles, meanwhile, impatient of restraint, and weary of the tedious instructions and irksome discipline of his spiritual guides, escaped to the North; where he expected a general insurrection in his favour; but, being overtaken by Colonel Montgomery with a troop of horse, he was persuaded to return.

His elopement had the effect of mitigating his rigorous treatment. He was immediately after crowned at Scone, with great solemnity and pomp. After subscribing the covenant, he was inaugurated by the Marquis of Argyll, and hailed, with loud acclamations, as the first covenanted King of the Scots.

During the winter, the English confined their military operations to the south of the Forth; and reduced Edinburgh castle, with several smaller fortresses. Nor were the Scots inactive, though their councils were distracted by ecclesiastical disputes. The more violent Covenanters in Renfrew, Ayr, Galloway, Wigton, and Dumfries, ignobly abandoned their King and the defence of their country. But their defection was amply compensated by the accession of multitudes who voluntarily crowded to the Royal standard; and an army, not inferior to that in number which had been lately defeated, was assembled at Stirling. Charles assumed the command; the Duke of Hamilton was appointed lieutenant, and Lessly major general.

With the view of finishing the contest, Cromwell advanced to give the enemy battle. Notwithstanding he used every

exertion and stratagem to draw them from their intrenchments, the counsel of Lessly, who urged the necessity of remaining on the defensive, was inflexibly adhered to.

Six weeks were thus spent in unavailing manœuvres. To intercept the King's supplies, Cromwell sent a detachment across the Forth: He followed soon after with his whole army, and completely effected his design. In this extremity, Charles was reduced to the necessity of disbanding his army or marching into England. The latter plan being considered the more eligible, the Scots, to the number of fourteen thousand, suddenly decamped and marched for England; expecting, upon their appearance in that kingdom, to be joined by their numerous friends. Their expectations were disappointed: None were prepared to support the invasion; and even the old Royalists were scared by the testiness of the Scottish clergy, who declined accepting help from any one that refused to subscribe the covenant.

If Cromwell committed a military error in throwing his forces in the rear of the Scots, he made a speedy and effectual reparation: He despatched Lambert, with a body of cavalry, to harass them; and having left General Monk with seven thousand troops, for the reduction of Scotland, he hastened homeward himself in pursuit of the King, who was within two days' march. Unable, through excessive fatigue, to reach the metropolis, the Scots were attracted to Worcester, a loyal city; where Charles, when too late, repented of his rashness.

He had the mortification to see his forces rather diminished than augmented. A body of eighteen thousand militia closely surrounded him; and Cromwell speedily arrived with a veteran army almost equally numerous. The anniversary of the battle of Dunbar was appointed for a general assault. Reduced to despair by their situation, the Scots defended themselves with desperate courage for five hours; when they made a temporary capture of the English artillery; but, overpowered by numbers, and oppressed by superior discipline, they at length gave way. The citadel was stormed; and the garrison, about eighteen hundred, was put to the sword. Three thousand were slain in the battle, and ten thousand were made prisoners. Charles escaped with his cavalry, and abandoned his foot to destruction. Cromwell, in his despatch to the English Parliament, paid a well-merited tribute to the valour of his enemies. "Indeed, it was a stiff business—a very glorious mercy—as stiff a conflict as I have ever seen."

A. D. 1651.

Six weeks passed after this defeat, before the King escaped from England. That he might the better escape the vigilance of his pursuers, he separated from his attendants, and assumed the meanest disguise. His romantic adventures and hairbreadth escapes, while they alternately surprise us and excite our pity, evince the beneficence of that superintending Providence which marks the destiny of every being. While the nation laboured under anxiety for the fate of the solitary wanderer, he received proofs of the most exemplary fidelity and attachment. Though fifty persons had been intrusted at different times with his concealment, and many of them were of the meanest class, they scorned to betray their sovereign by accepting a large reward which had been offered for his apprehension. A vessel was at last procured, in which he embarked for France.

CHAPTER VI.

Protectorate of Cromwell. Stirling castle surrenders to the English. Dundee sacked. Unsuccessful negotiation to unite the kingdoms. Cromwell's death and character. Restoration of Charles.

The battle of Worcester, which utterly extinguished the hopes of the Royalists, afforded Cromwell what he termed *his crowning mercy*,—an immediate prospect of attaining the sovereignty, which had secretly been the object of his wishes. In Scotland, his authority was acknowledged with little opposition. Stirling castle, though supplied with the means of defence, was garrisoned by Highlanders; who, unused to the perils of a siege, and terrified at the explosion of the bombs, mutinied against the governor, and compelled him to capitulate. The fortified and rich town of Dundee was gained by surprise or storm, and the garrison was slaughtered in cold blood. Lumsden, the gallant governor, shared the fate of his companions; the inhabitants of both sexes, old and young, were devoted by Monk to an indiscriminate slaughter.

Intimidated by this severe example, Montrose, Aberdeen, and St Andrew's, surrendered at discretion. Detachments of the English penetrated into the remote islands of the North; and Monk boasted that he had subdued a country impervious to the Romans, and which had resisted the arms and arts of Edward and Henry. A show of resistance was indeed made by the Estates; but, during their sitting at Alyth, they were surprised and imprisoned, and the levies

which they had begun to collect were dispersed. The Earls of Huntly and Balcarras, unable to confront the English in the field, retired with their party to the Highlands.

Under the specious pretext of effecting an incorporating union of the two countries, Cromwell procured the appointment of commissioners, by the English Parliament, for the regulation of the civil administration of Scotland. Writs were transmitted to the sheriffs in that kingdom, and to the royal boroughs, to choose commissioners to meet the English representatives and arrange the conditions of the union.

Against this measure the Scottish clergy protested, as they apprehended the overthrow of their religious establishment. The nation at large was unprepared for a coercive union; for, out of ninety counties and boroughs from which delegates were expected, only thirty-four appeared; the shires and municipal bodies that disregarded the Parliamentary mandate were disfranchised or excluded from the protection of government. The conditions of the treaty were never finally adjusted; and the project was superseded by Cromwell's dismissal of the Parliament and his usurpation of the government.

He established a military government in Scotland, and erected a chain of forts which rendered him independent of any local commotion, and indifferent to the effervescence of public opinion.

A. D. 1653. The last effort of resistance made by the Scottish Royalists during the protectorate of Cromwell, was directed by the Earls of Balcarras, Glencairn, Angus, and Montrose, with the Lords Kenmure and Lorn; who collected an army of five thousand men in the Highlands. Cromwell had the sagacity to detach the leaders from the cause they had espoused, by offering an indemnity privately to each. By their defection, the army crumbled and dispersed.

Though in the civil war the Scots had maintained a distinguished character, their importance vanished with the inglorious surrender of their liberties under the domination of Cromwell. As the relation which subsisted between them and the English was merely that which subsists between the vanquished and their conquerors, the spirit of freedom necessarily languished. The Government, indeed, with a vigorous arm maintained subordination and repressed disorder; yet the nation became gradually prepared to endure, with surprising patience, the despotism of the two succeeding reigns. But it must be admitted, that at no period was justice ad-

ministered with greater impartiality than during the usurpa-
A.D. 1657. tion. The Court of Session was composed of English and Scottish judges: But the latter were virtually restricted to the exposition of the laws; while the former endeavoured to assimilate the jurisprudence of Scotland to the usages of the English law.

In ecclesiastical affairs, the Protector discovered considerable sagacity and prudence. By introducing a temperate forbearance, he restrained the intolerance of the Covenanters, and divested the censure of excommunication of the terrors of corporeal or legal punishment.

While the authority of Cromwell was recognized by the Continental powers, and a tide of success had rendered the English navy under Admiral Blake triumphant on the ocean, his domestic government was assailed and distracted by the machinations of his enemies, and his mind was continually haunted with the fear of assassination. Even his own family loaded him with bitter reproaches, which rendered his mental sufferings intolerably painful. Cromwell died, of a tertian
A.D. 1658. ague, in the sixtieth year of his age. He possessed a daring spirit, an invincible courage, and great military talents: But to these must be added the wildest enthusiasm, unbounded ambition, and consummate hypocrisy. By the combination of these discriminative qualities, he was fitted for directing the events which Providence had placed under his control.

His death terminated that authority which, had he lived, he could not probably have upheld much longer. He had nominated his son Richard, on his deathbed, as his successor; but he possessed not his father's abilities to retain his perilous situation. The leaders of the army undermined his power and procured his deposition.

The remains of the Long Parliament were reassembled; which immediately summoned the assistance of General Monk, who commanded a veteran army in Scotland. That general, collecting his scattered forces, prepared to march into England, to oppose Fleetwood and Lambert; who, at the head of the English army, attempted to overawe the Parliament. Monk was encouraged to take this decisive step, by the unanimous voice of the Presbyterians, the Royalists, and the Independents themselves, whose diminutive Parliament the army had dispersed.

The returning spirit of loyalty was unequivocally expressed in the addresses which were sent from every part of the kingdom for a free Parliament. The fleet was prepared to de-

clare for the King; and the leading Presbyterians had separately tendered their services to him. At length, Monk gradually disclosed his intentions. He admitted an emissary of the King to a secret interview, and despatched him to Charles with a verbal assurance of his attachment and fidelity.

After the new Parliament had assembled, in which the Peers resumed their hereditary seats, a Royal messenger appeared with a letter of conciliation and indemnity, addressed to the Two Houses by the King. A vote was instantly passed by acclamation for his restoration; but a motion to consider upon what conditions they should restore him, was artfully overruled by Monk.

Charles landed at Dover, and embraced the General; whom he decorated with the insignia of the garter. He afterwards proceeded to London; which he entered on his A.D. 1660. birth-day, the 29th of May; and, after twenty years of civil war, was restored to the throne of his ancestors.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RESTORATION, 1660.

Injudicious administration of Charles. Execution of Argyll. Revival of Prelacy. Presbyterians persecuted—they retaliate. Skirmish at Pentland—its consequences.

CHARLES the SECOND had completed his thirtieth year when he was restored to his paternal throne. From the universal joy which that event had produced, a season of undisturbed tranquillity was anticipated. The gracious and popular deportment of the King—the moderation and experience which, it was presumed, he had acquired in adversity—induced the nation to hope for a wise and beneficial administration.

These expectations were unhappily disappointed. The recollection of his misfortunes was lost in dissipation, unworthy pleasures, or frivolous pursuits; and his reign, auspicious and popular at its commencement, became odious and disgraceful before its termination. Secretly attached to the Romish church, and imbued with the arbitrary and dogmatical opinions of his father, his reign degenerated into a sanguine and cruel despotism, and accelerated the final expulsion of his family from the throne of Britain.

In the settlement of Scotland, it was determined to disband the English garrisons, and to demolish the citadels and forts which had been erected by Cromwell. But it was more difficult to decide what form of ecclesiastical government

should be prescribed for the Scots. Having subscribed the covenant, and sworn to observe it when invited to Scotland after his father's death, Charles was perplexed for a plausible ground of apostacy, when urged to violate those solemn engagements by Clarendon.

That statesman had already devised the most intolerant measures for the revival of Prelacy, at a time when the majority of the nation were rigid Presbyterians. The King himself was indifferent to religion; but the introduction of Episcopacy opened alluring prospects of ambition, which attracted the avarice even of some of the Presbyterian leaders. The notorious Sharpe deserted the Scottish church on the offer of the primacy; and, by a mean equivocation, circumvented the Presbyterians with the fallacious hopes of legal protection and support.

A.D. 1661. But it was by means of the Parliament that the Court infringed the civil and religious rights of the Scots. The Earl of Middleton had been appointed to preside as commissioner in that assembly; which, being composed of nobles inured to servitude under the English Government, evinced an obsequious submission to the crown. To restore the Royal prerogative to its full extent, was therefore easily accomplished.

The nomination of judges and officers of state—the power of declaring war and concluding peace—the command of the militia—the right to summon and dissolve Parliaments and conventions—were acknowledged to be inherent and unalienable prerogatives of the crown. The covenant was indirectly repealed by an act which declared that it could not be revived without the King's consent. An excise of forty thousand pounds Sterling was conferred on the King for life, to maintain a military force for preserving the public tranquillity.

But a more exceptionable admission was obtained,—that the King was supreme governor over all persons, and in all cases ecclesiastical and civil; and, to absolve him from his former engagements with the Presbyterians, a general *rescissory* act was proposed, to annul all the Parliamentary acts of the last thirty years. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition from a few of the nobles and the surviving Covenanters, the measure was approved by a large majority.

It may appear surprising, that the Scots, who but a few years before maintained their civil and religious liberties with such spirit, should have sunk so soon into a state of apathy. It may be remarked, in illustration, that the elections had been influenced by the Chancellor,—that the greater part

of the old Covenanters had quitted the transitory scene; and as an indemnity had been withheld from the Scots, the young nobility and gentry, overawed by the terrors of confiscation and punishment for their fathers' offences, vied with each other in servility to their Sovereign.

Argyll, the first nobleman in the kingdom, was arraigned for high treason. Though his defence was vigorous and plausible, if not strictly just, the Commissioner and Royalists, who grasped at his possessions, procured a sentence of treason against him; and he was publicly executed, the third day after his trial. Mr Guthry, a clergyman who had rendered himself obnoxious by his zeal for the covenant, was executed with an obscure deserter, as a mark of ignominy.

The government of Scotland was at this time a pure despotism. The Privy Council was at once a council of state and a court of justice. It assumed not unfrequently a legislative authority; and hence the institution became tyrannical.

It was a favourite but unworthy sentiment of Charles, that the Presbyterian religion was unfit for a gentleman, and should therefore be discountenanced by the state. The bigotry and violence of his ministers readily seconded the wishes of their Sovereign, and betrayed him into the pernicious measures of the two preceding reigns. Conformably to this unhappy determination, Sharpe, Fairfoul, Leighton, and Hamilton, were consecrated in England, and dismissed, with Sydserf, the only survivor of the former Scottish prelates, to propagate their order in Scotland.

Every mark of respect and honour that could serve to impress the people with veneration for their character, was conferred on them. They were conducted to the capital by the Chancellor and the nobility, in solemn procession; and they resumed their ancient seats in the national legislature. To forward the work of ecclesiastical transformation, the Parliament annulled the authority of assemblies and presbyteries; A. D. 1662. the covenants were repealed, and abjured as unlawful oaths; the right of patronage was revived; and the prelates monopolized the whole power of the church.

An act of conditional indemnity and oblivion was no longer withheld from the Scots, when the Monarch's favourite wish was gratified, by the establishment of the Episcopal hierarchy: But it soon appeared that the Royal clemency was elicited to gratify the avarice and revenge of his ministers. Under pretence of disqualifying some public delinquents for offices of trust, a Parliamentary committee, invested with in-

quisitorial powers, was appointed to scrutinize the characters of all those who had been concerned in the late rebellion. No proof of innocence was required or admitted; and, of such as were only indirectly implicated, nine hundred were amerced in the sum of eighty-five thousand pounds.

Middleton, who had devised and conducted these measures, was become universally odious, from his severity; but his removal from office was accelerated by an unsuccessful attempt to incapacitate Lauderdale for public employment. Unhappily for the Scots, Lauderdale and Rothes, who succeeded to the administration, proved as imperious and cruel as their predecessor. A system of ecclesiastical measures, equally wicked and inimical to sound policy, was advised by the bishops; who procured an act of Council commanding all Presbyterian clergymen to procure presentations from their patrons, and submit to ordination by the prelates, under pain of being ejected by military force.

Three hundred and fifty clergymen, unawed by the menaces of power, evinced the noble determination of submitting to the privations of contumacy, during the inclemencies of winter, rather than violate their consciences by an obsequious submission. The most distinguished of these sufferers were selected for punishment, and banished to remote districts or expelled the kingdom.

A. D. 1663. It was in consequence of this severity that conventicles were first held. Disgusted by the irregular conduct, the negligence, and the ignorance of the Episcopal curates, the people deserted the parish-churches, and resorted to their former pastors, in the fields and woods for worship, and instruction. Indignant at this general disaffection, an act was passed, at the instigation of the bishops, to amerce all separatists from the national church. For this offence, landholders were liable to a forfeiture of a fourth of their rents—tenants and burgesses, a fourth of their substance, the freedom of their corporation, and the privileges of trade, besides being subject to such corporeal punishment as the Privy Council might think proper to inflict.

The people were forbidden, under penalty of treason, even to administer to the wants of their ejected pastors. A court A. D. 1664. of ecclesiastical commission was again established, similar to the Papal inquisition, being invested with a spiritual and civil jurisdiction; while its secret and summary proceedings rejected both evidence and defence. The unsuspecting Presbyterians were insnared by captious interrogatories. On their declining to acknowledge the King's

supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, they were punished as felons. Ruinous penalties were exacted of many; corporeal punishments were inflicted on some; the gaols were crowded with numbers; and others, happy to escape with their lives, fled to Ireland.

As the most resolute opposition to Prelacy had been made in the Western counties, they were abandoned to military oppression. Turner, an Englishman of a ferocious temper and licentious character, commanded the troops that were at once the judges and the instruments of justice. The Episcopal clergy were the chief accusers. The country gentlemen were fined and imprisoned for the secession of their tenants and servants; and the tenants were amerced and their substance devoured by the military, for the delinquency of their superiors.

The lamentations and complaints of the people were indistinctly heard or disregarded by the Government; which seemed actuated by a blind resentment against its own subjects. The public prisons that had been gorged with the victims of the inquisition, were cleared of their inhabitants; who were transported to Barbadoes, to make room for fresh delinquents.

A.D. 1666. Three years was this desolating persecution continued. The fugitive Presbyterians, despairing of indulgence by submission, were driven at last to rebellion. The flame was kindled through a slight occurrence among the peasantry. Moved with compassion for an aged poor man, who was dragged in fetters to prison on account of his inability to pay the fines of the church, the spectators suddenly disarmed the soldiers, and effected his rescue.

Encouraged by applause, and emboldened by augmented numbers, the malecontents surprised Turner at Dumfries; and, proceeding to Lanark, their tumultuary force was increased to two thousand. After solemnly renewing the covenant, and issuing a declaration of undiminished loyalty to the King, they marched to Edinburgh, under the command of Wallace and Learmont, two obscure officers. By the time they arrived in the vicinity of the metropolis, one half of their numbers had deserted. They found the city fortified, and all communication with the inhabitants cut off.

Disappointed of the expected aid of their friends, exhausted by want, and dispirited by fatigue, they attempted to return home by the Pentland hills. There they were overtaken and attacked by General Dalziel, who commanded a body of yeomanry cavalry. Though the Presbyterians were re-

duced to eight hundred, they repulsed different attacks of the assailants; but at sunset, they were overpowered and dispersed. Nearly one fourth of their number was killed or taken prisoners. Twenty of the prisoners were executed at Edinburgh; ten of whom were suspended from the same gibbet, their heads were stuck upon the city-gates, and their right arms sent to Lanark for a similar exhibition. Thirty-five were executed at their own doors, after having endured the torture. As the Privy Council affected to believe that this insurrection was but a part of an organized conspiracy against the Government, many persons were cruelly tortured, in order to extort evidence of a discovery. Of this number was a young preacher of the name of Maccail; whose leg had been squeezed in an instrument of torture called the *iron boot*, till the bones were crushed and broken. He endured these cruelties with unshaken fortitude; and expired on the scaffold in transports of joy, while the spectators were overwhelmed with grief.

CHAPTER VIII.

Iniquitous proceedings of Burnet and Sharpe—who are superseded. Moderation of Leighton. Tyranny of Lauderdale. The nobles remonstrate—ineffectually.

These affecting spectacles were a prelude to a series of atrocities. Dalziel, with his associate Drummond, who had been inured to cruelty in the Russian service, introduced military execution into the Western counties. The torture and the sword were cloyed with blood. Robberies, rapes, and murders, with every species of military excess, were committed by the soldiers with impunity. Even the semblance of trial was superseded: Many were seized on the highways, and instantly executed; lighted matches were fastened to the fingers of others, in order to extort confession. Filial affection and conjugal love were in those barbarous times disreputable in the estimation of the ruling powers, if unsubservient to the arbitrary mandates of the renowned hero of Pentland.

From the prevailing infection of venality, the civil and criminal courts were not exempted. The officers of state privately tampered with the judges; who did not hesitate to declare, though in opposition to the established laws of the realm, that the Court of Justiciary could proceed to the trial and condemnation of state offenders, even in their absence.

Fifty-five gentlemen were thus arraigned; of whom twenty were condemned to be executed whenever they should be apprehended; and their estates were divided among their prosecutors. These acts of misgovernment were sanctioned by the Parliament; which also confirmed the extravagant pretensions of the Justiciary Court.

These iniquitous measures were directed or connived at by Burnet and Sharpe; whose influence prevailed in the Privy Council: But their violence had been indulged or artfully fomented by Lauderdale, till it reached a crisis destructive to themselves.

An unsuccessful war with the Dutch, so aggravated the general discontent in Britain, that Charles was compelled to adopt a more lenient system of government, and to sacrifice his ministers to the popular resentment. Sharpe and Rothes were dismissed from office; and a milder administration succeeded, under the auspices of Tweeddale, Kincardine, and Sir Robert Murray. Sir Robert was appointed justice-clerk: He was a gentleman of an accomplished mind and unimpeached integrity. The army that had oppressed the Western counties was withdrawn and disbanded; and the milder substitute of bonds, accompanied with an ample indemnity, was generally adopted for the preservation of the public peace. A.D. 1668.

The moderate but artful Leighton attempted an accommodation between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, for the purpose of restoring a uniform mode of worship. The church as it was modelled in the reign of James the Sixth, was to be reëstablished; and though the change might in the mean time be derogatory to the authority of the bishops, Leighton represented that their power would be easily recovered when the present generation of fanatics should sleep with their fathers.

An alliance which must soon have extinguished their name, was declined by the Presbyterians, who preferred a separate though precarious existence, as more congenial to the simplicity and purity of their religion and the austerity of their manners. Leighton, however, persevered in his efforts to effect a reconciliation. A partial indulgence was granted to above forty of the ejected clergy, who were permitted to officiate in vacant churches: But they soon sunk in the estimation of their own party, and were contumeliously styled *the King's curates*.

A union of the kingdoms was projected by Tweeddale: But that project, so often attempted before, was frustrated

by the Scottish aristocracy; who demanded that the Parliaments of the two kingdoms should be entirely incorporated, instead of a proportional representation.

Scarcely had the nation begun to breathe under a humane and impartial government, when the prospects of liberty and peace were unhappily clouded. Lauderdale, by whose means the prelates had been removed from the Privy Council, unexpectedly withdrew his support from his virtuous colleagues, and assumed the sole administration of the government. He had hitherto exerted his influence for the benefit of his country; but finding that other qualities were better fitted to accelerate his promotion than virtue and patriotism, he abandoned his early principles for the vicious maxims of the times.

He prevailed upon the Parliament to pass two acts subversive of the civil and religious rights of his country. By the first of these acts, the King was invested with absolute power over the church,—that whatever he might enact respecting ecclesiastical matters should acquire the authority and operation of a law, when sanctioned by the Privy Council. The second act impowered the crown to maintain a permanent militia of twenty-two thousand men; and their service was to extend to any part of Britain.

To these impolitic measures, the acts of the next session were an exact counterpart. Statutes severe and sanguinary were enacted against conventicles. The laws formerly passed against separatists, operated chiefly against *house* conventicles: The Presbyterians therefore assembled in the open fields, as more eligible for defence or escape than private associations.

Against such assemblies, the new laws were particularly directed. The preachers were declared liable to confiscation and death. A sum nearly equivalent to thirty pounds Sterling was offered by Government for securing the person of a preacher, and an indemnity for his slaughter, in case of resistance; and such as frequented conventicles were liable to imprisonment, arbitrary fines, and transportation to America.

By this iniquitous law, were produced effects exactly the reverse of those that had been expected; for the people, instead of being intimidated by its rigour, armed themselves for defence. A large conventicle in Fife was attended by gentlemen in their ordinary arms; and their example was gene-
A.D. 1672. rally imitated. For such unpatriotic services, Lauderdale was rewarded with the title of Duke: But his

insolence excited universal odium; and his administration relapsed into the same barbarity from which the nation had experienced a temporary relief.

The revenues of the kingdom were lavished by the viceroy and his friends; and when the ordinary supplies were found inadequate to his necessities, the most extravagant and oppressive extortions were resorted to. Penalties and confiscations to an incalculable amount were exacted for attending conventicles, with unrelenting rigour. Atholl, the Justice-General, received for his own emolument, in one week, nineteen hundred pounds Sterling. Ten gentlemen in Renfrewshire were amerced in the sum of thirty thousand pounds Sterling. The commerce of the kingdom languished; the most oppressive monopolies were engrossed by the minister and his friends; even the coin was reduced in weight and adulterated.

A.D. 1673. These oppressions were not silently endured. A party of the nobles, headed by the Duke of Hamilton, provoked by Lauderdale's arrogance, moved in Parliament that an inquiry should be made into the grievances of the nation. This bold demand was reiterated by twenty members. At first, the minister attempted, by overbearing measures, to quash all inquiries: But the advocates of liberty were not to be silenced; they even intimated their determination to lay their grievances before the King.

A prorogation of the Parliament for two months was the immediate result; but as the popular clamour became still louder, the King commanded the Parliament to be dissolved. Notwithstanding a general promise of redress had been reluctantly granted during the recess, the dissolution of the Parliament was considered as an unworthy artifice to frustrate and supersede all inquiry. So violent was the general discontent, that a plan was secretly formed to assassinate Lauderdale and his colleagues. Hamilton's influence was successfully exerted in overruling these desperate counsels; and he again implored to be heard by his Sovereign.

A. D. 1674. As it was imminently dangerous to subscribe any document, however cautiously framed, that might be converted into *leasing-making*, and employed for their destruction, Hamilton and his friends communicated their complaints by anonymous letters and pamphlets. Lauderdale's removal from office was first demanded: But Charles had found that minister so entirely devoted to his will, that he confirmed him in his employments; and all his opponents except Hamilton were banished from the Council. Secure

in his Sovereign's favour, the minister became more absolute than he had been before.

Though the spirit of the nation was apparently repressed, it occasionally displayed itself in a manner not to be misunderstood, and sufficiently ominous to the rulers. A private litigation before the Court of Session, in which Lauderdale publicly interfered to the perversion of justice, and for the purpose of preventing the constitutional right of an appeal to Parliament, so excited the indignation of the faculty of advocates, that they remonstrated against the interference of the minister, in a manner which he deemed rather uncourteous.

Two of the most eminent counsel were expelled for refusing to take an arbitrary oath; but their indignity was amply counterpoised by the approbation of the majority of their order, fifty of whom accompanied them from the bar. Their independence and spirit incurred a sentence of banishment twelve miles from the city for a year; but, upon a slight and evasive submission, they were permitted to return.

The submission and patience of the nation, when Lauderdale had surmounted all opposition, produced no relaxation of fines, imprisonment, torture, and exile: The slightest opposition to the minister was liable to be resolved into constructive treason. The nobility and gentry were alike the objects of ministerial resentment: Bailie of Jarviswood, because he forcibly effected the rescue of Kirkton, his brother-in-law, a Presbyterian preacher, from the house of a spy, whither he had been decoyed by the advice of Archbishop Sharpe, was convicted of a state offence, fined five hundred pounds, and imprisoned for a year.

The Duke of Hamilton, and five other noblemen, who had remonstrated against this sentence, were dismissed from the Council. Could a plea of extenuation be urged in behalf of Lauderdale, it must be derived from the incessant and clamorous rage of the bishops, who considered religious toleration incompatible with the security of their authority; or from an unjust but incurable prejudice of the King against the Presbyterians, as disaffected to his government and ever ready to revolt.

As the severities of Government served rather to multiply conventicles than to suppress them, an absolute statute was revived, whereby the accused, if they failed to appear before the Council when summoned, were outlawed; and all persons were prohibited from having any intercourse with them, though stimulated by the feelings of humanity or the tender affections of consanguinity.

Ninety clergymen, with many ladies and gentlemen of distinction, were thus proscribed by a single writ, were interdicted from the intercourse of society; and all who held communication with them, or even supplied them with sustenance, became liable to the same horrible proscription. A corresponding degree of fortitude and resolution was evinced by the sufferers; who retired to morasses and woods for religious purposes, or assembled on the tops of mountains to prevent surprise. The Bass, a steep rock in the Frith of Forth, was converted into a state-prison for the preachers, who frequently perished in want and misery: And such of their hearers as were surprised or intercepted in their return from field-worship, were impressed to serve as recruits in the French service.

CHAPTER IX.

Highland soldiers plunder the Western counties—consequences. Sharpe assassinated. Claverhouse and the Conventiclers. Conflict at Bothwell Bridge. Moderation of Monmouth. Origin of the Cameronians. Administration of York. Argyll condemned—administration of justice prostituted. Death and character of Charles.

PEACE and moderate liberty are the greatest blessings a nation can enjoy—when the interests and feelings of rulers and subjects are blended and identified—when the arm of power is guided by justice and humanity—when the laws are cheerfully obeyed, and the authority and character of the magistrate respected. Unhappily for Scotland, the political tempest which had raged since the Restoration continued to desolate the kingdom. An irreconcileable religious difference, exasperated by incessant oppression and occasional insubordination, had severed those relations which it ought to be the endeavour of rulers to protect and the glory of a people to support. James Duke of York, the King's brother, having gained considerable influence in the English cabinet, formed the design of raising a large army, which he expected to command in person, with the view of rendering the King absolute, and securing his own succession, though a Papist, to the throne.

A. D. 1678. In Scotland, a similar intention of establishing a military government was unequivocally expressed, and executed for a time in a manner unexampled in a civilized state. The coercive means that had been employed for the conversion of the Presbyterians, though unsuccessful, were still pursued in the Western counties. Landlords were re-

quired to enter into bonds, under severe penalties, that neither their families, domestics, nor servants, should absent themselves from public worship as by law established. This absurd demand was disdainfully refused; and it is probable that the event was foreseen by Lauderdale, and not disagreeable to him.

The refractory counties were officially reported to be in a state of revolt; and hence the necessity of a standing military force was urged. A body of English troops marched to the Borders, and an Irish army lined the coasts of their island opposite to Scotland. Ten thousand soldiers, of whom the greater part were lawless Highlanders, with a train of artillery, were introduced by the Royal authority into a populous country, and in the midst of profound tranquillity.

Instigated by rapacity, the Highlanders overran the country, and nothing escaped their ravenous grasp. Extortion and robbery were committed with impunity; gentlemen were deprived of their swords and saddle-horses; agriculture was suspended, as the horses of the peasantry were seized to convey the plunder to the Highland districts. These enormities were committed under the observation of a committee of the Council that attended the army to enforce the bonds.

Fourteen peers and fifty gentlemen repaired to London, to lay their complaints at the foot of the throne. As they had left Scotland without leave, they were refused an audience; but their sufferings were commiserated by the English Commons, who made an unsuccessful attempt to procure the removal of Lauderdale. So loudly were the barbarities of the Highlanders execrated, that they were dismissed to their hills, but with impunity and wealth.

Meanwhile, Lauderdale, to maintain his credit with the court, availed himself of the absence of the discontented nobles to convene the Estates. The obsequious Parliament eulogized the administration of Lauderdale in a letter to the King; and voted an annual sum of thirty thousand pounds for five years, to be raised by assessment, for the maintenance of an army to suppress conventicles. The Highlanders were replaced by five thousand troops; private houses were filled with garrisons; the number of judges was augmented in each county to enforce the laws more rigorously, with the liberty of appropriating one half of the fines for their private emolument.

A. D. 1679. Reduced to despair, the persecuted Presbyterians retaliated on their oppressors. Some of the military were murdered at night in their quarters. The meekness

and fortitude of the martyr were supplanted by the vindictive resentment of the assassin. Carmichael, one of the commissioners appointed to exterminate conventicles, being accused of enormous cruelties, was doomed to destruction, by a few wretched fugitives, who had been interdicted from society on account of their religious principles.

While they lay in ambush for their victim, they unexpectedly perceived the approach of the Primate's coach. As he was attended by few servants, the opportunity was embraced to perpetrate a most detestable murder. They stopped his carriage on Magus Moor, near St Andrew's; dragged him from the arms of his daughter; reproached him with the blood of the saints that he had caused to be shed; and notwithstanding his moving lamentations and supplications for mercy, they transfixed his body with many wounds, and cast it on the highway.

Sharpe was the third archbishop of St Andrew's that had suffered from popular or private revenge. Cardinal Beaton was assassinated in an age when the turpitude of such a crime was disregarded; and the execution of Archbishop Hamilton was sanctioned by the forms of justice. Though Sharpe's assassination was committed without premeditation, and detested even by his enemies, the whole body of Presbyterians were accused as accomplices.

This disingenuous charge discovered the unbounded rage of their enemies, and warned them to provide for their safety. The detached conventiclers therefore united in a mass, and presented the singular but formidable appearance of a military encampment. The renowned Graham of Claverhouse was commissioned to attack a conventicle upon Loudon Hill; and, in the event of resistance, to extirpate the devotees with the sword. But his dragoons were repulsed with disgrace by the undisciplined peasantry, and the gallant chief himself narrowly escaped. Elated with success, the tumultuary array of conventiclers marched to Glasgow; and their number amounting to four thousand, they encamped at Bothwell Bridge. The Royal forces were quickly assembled at Edinburgh; and the Duke of Monmouth, the King's natural brother, assumed the command, and advanced to meet the insurgents.

The Presbyterians, commanded by Hackston of Rathillet, defended the bridge with obstinate valour, until their ammunition was expended; when they reluctantly retired. The Royalists, pursuing their advantage, passed the bridge and formed without interruption. A discharge of artillery great-

ly increased the alarm and confusion, which the previous religious disputes of the preachers had occasioned. A total rout ensued: Four hundred were killed, and thrice that number surrendered at discretion. But the victorious general treated his prisoners with great humanity: He dismissed the militia, maintained strict discipline, and thereby restrained the fury of his soldiers.

Upon his return to London, Monmouth interested himself in the behalf of the persecuted Scots. He represented to the King, that field meetings were the unavoidable consequence of the rigorous laws against conventicles; and he procured an indemnity and a limited indulgence. Great hopes were entertained that the Sovereign might be induced, by the moving complaints and supplications of the Scottish lords, who had succeeded in obtaining an audience, to moderate the sufferings of the Nonconformists.

A party in the English cabinet endeavoured to procure Lauderdale's removal from office: But though it was notorious that he merited a heavier punishment, the King, conceiving that the humiliation of the Presbyterians enhanced his prerogative, coolly determined to support the obnoxious minister.

The tide of persecution again flowed with accelerated violence. Many of the wretched Covenanters, suspected of being concerned in the late insurrectionary movements, were proscribed and immolated. Kid and King, two of their clergymen, were executed at Edinburgh; and five others, who were innocent of Sharpe's murder, expiated that crime on Magus Moor. Five months were the prisoners taken at Bothwell Bridge confined in the churchyard of the Grayfriars in Edinburgh, exposed to the inclemency of the elements.

The greater number were then released on their bonds of peace; but the more obstinate were shipped for America, and perished at sea. The Justiciary Court performed a circuit in the Western counties, and called the moneyed delinquents to a severe account. Informations were plentifully supplied by the curates; forfeitures were multiplied, as a source of emolument to the servants of the crown; while Claverhouse amply revenged on the innocent peasantry the disgrace of his former defeat.

A.D. 1680. It was at this time that the sect of the Cameronians arose. Cameron and Cargill, two preachers who had escaped from the battle at Bothwell, to the Continent, returned to their fugitive flocks. The former, from whom his

followers have been named, appeared publicly at Sanquhar, and solemnly abjured his allegiance to the King; whom he accused of perjury, for the breach of his covenanted vows—and of tyranny, because of his usurpation of absolute power over the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

Cameron's temerity was soon severely chastised. He and his adherents were surprised by a party of Royal troops at Airdsmoss, in the district of Kyle. His brother and he fell gallantly fighting back to back. His head was presented to his aged father, then in prison. It was afterwards publicly elevated in the metropolis, together with his hands in the attitude of prayer. No mercy was shown to his deluded and unfortunate followers who had been captured. After suffering the penalty of treason, their heads were exhibited (a barbarous spectacle) at the entrance of the city.

Cargill was not, however, intimidated by the fate of his companion: He continued to declaim in the fields against the King; and, at a conventicle held in Torwood, he pronounced a solemn excommunication against him and his ministers. Though the preacher's conduct appears ludicrous to us, it made a deep and indelible impression upon his hearers.

Religious fanaticism is pitiable: When it assumes a threatening attitude to the civil government, it is highly censurable and criminal.

From the conciliatory manners and the impartial conduct of the Duke of York during a late visit at Edinburgh, it was generally hoped, now that he had assumed the administration of Scotland, that his measures would be directed with wisdom and moderation. But the nation was disappointed. The Cameronians were devoted to the torture and the scaffold: They were insnared by such captious and insidious questions as these,—"Was the killing of Sharpe murder? Was the rising at Bothwell rebellion? Is Charles a legitimate king? Is it lawful to dethrone and murder him?"

When those deluded creatures, too ingenuous to prevaricate, answered the last question in the affirmative, they were delivered over to the Court of Justiciary. The reluctance of many to answer their persecutors was overcome by the torture. Even helpless females, in the flower of their youth, were condemned for their religious opinions; and notwithstanding their lives were offered them by the Duke if they would say "God save the King," such was their phrensy that they regarded a declaration of loyalty with abhorrence, and voluntarily preferred a crown of martyrdom.

York was frequently present at these revolting spectacles; and viewed their sufferings with as much composure as if he had been contemplating a philosophical experiment, whilst his counsellors recoiled from the scene.

Having been educated in the Romish faith, the Duke concealed not his predilection for that persuasion. The Presbyterians fancied that they beheld already the conversion of the national church to Popery. A general alarm was consequently excited. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the magistrates and the military to prevent every insult to the Duke's religion, it was impossible to repress the popular indignation and resentment. The students attending the uni-
A. D. 1681. versity of Edinburgh engaged, by a solemn oath, to burn the Pope in effigy; which they performed with adroitness and resolution. For this juvenile sally, the university was shut up for a short time, and the culprits were imprisoned.

In order to obtain a public and solemn acknowledgment of his right of succession, the Duke called a Parliament; and, to quiet the alarm excited by his partiality for the Catholic faith, a preliminary measure was loudly demanded by the Presbyterians—an act for the security of the Reformed church. But the act of security was insidiously converted into a test of passive obedience for the security of the throne. It asserted the King's supremacy in all matters civil and ecclesiastical; and all persons in civil, military, and ecclesiastical employments, were required to receive it, under penalty of treason and confiscation.

By this absurd statute, the Presbyterians saw themselves excluded from every office of trust under Government; but they had the address to overreach their adversaries. The first confession of the Scottish Reformers, framed to expose the errors of Popery, and to justify their resistance to the Queen Regent, was artfully introduced as the prime standard of the Protestant faith, and which was to be added as a counterpart to the test. The illiterate bishops were ignorant of the contents of this document: It was readily adopted without being read. By this artful manœuvre, the Presbyterians expected, that a test contradicted throughout by the confession of faith, would be speedily abandoned as inconsistent and absurd; for no Presbyterian could subscribe the test, no Episcopalian could subscribe the confession, and no Papist could agree with either.

Eighty Episcopalian clergymen, more conscientious than

courtly, resigned their livings rather than subscribe the obnoxious test and confession. The Presbyterians universally rejected it. The Earl of Argyll, because he refused to subscribe it without explanation or reserve, was basely tried for leasing-making and treason, and condemned.

It was obviously York's intention to ruin Argyll, as the head of the Presbyterians, that he might confiscate his estates and divide them among his own creatures. Argyll having escaped from prison, sentence of attainder was immediately pronounced; by which his honours, estates, and life, were forfeited, his arms reversed and torn, his children disinherited, and a large reward was offered for his person. So shameless a prostitution of justice produced a general execration and horror. The Presbyterians became ever after irreconcileable to the Duke; and several noblemen and gentlemen, despairing of protection or safety in their native country, retired to the Continent.

A. D. 1682. Before the Duke's return to London, he committed the government of Scotland to the Marquis of Queensberry, as Treasurer; the Earl of Perth, as Justice-General; and Gordon of Hadden, who was created Earl of Aberdeen, as Chancellor: But this change of administration was productive of no reformation in the measures of a despotical government.

A. D. 1683. The remainder of Charles's reign presents a continuation of the oppression and cruelty which the nation had already endured. Wearied of the yoke they had hitherto borne, and terrified at the gloomy prospect of futurity, thirty-six noblemen and gentlemen prepared to expatriate themselves, dispose of their estates, and retire to America. It was at this crisis that an insurrection was projected by Monmouth, in concert with many English noblemen and gentlemen, to emancipate their country. Argyll and the Scottish exiles in Holland readily promised their coöperation; as did several of their countrymen who were preparing to quit the kingdom. The explosion of this scheme proved destructive to many of the conspirators, and afforded a plausible pretext for multiplying confiscations and executions in Scotland.

A. D. 1684. Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock, an aged and venerable gentleman, was arraigned as an accomplice in the conspiracy, and an abettor in the insurrection at Bothwell. His accusers, who had been suborned, faltered when called upon for their depositions, notwithstanding they had

been previously tutored. The jury acquitted the prisoner, after a violent altercation with the bench; yet he was imprisoned for life, in defiance of justice and humanity.

Bailie of Jarviswood, who had been implicated in the conspiracy, was brought to trial, though in the last stage of a decline; and after his condemnation, only a few hours elapsed until he was executed. A general inquisition was made, to discover all who had harboured rebels, or maintained any intercourse with persons intercommuned. In almost all the parishes of the West and South, a voluminous list of delinquents was prepared for the itinerant Justiciary Court; which speedily proscribed two thousand persons as outlaws.

The dispensation of justice was become a source of iniquitous traffic; the fines extorted from Nonconformists were collected as a source of revenue. A gentleman of the name of Porterfield was condemned to death, and obliged to compound with his judge, Lord Melfort, the Chancellor's brother, for his life and estate; because, though he refused, when solicited, to contribute a small sum for the support of Argyll, he had not apprized the Government of the application.

The Cameronians were treated with great inhumanity. The Privy Council voted an indiscriminate massacre of all who refused the test; and the military were instructed to execute the order. Of the number of those who thus perished, no accurate account has been preserved. An expression of the Duke of York, that it would never be well with Scotland till all the country north of the Forth was made a hunting-field, suggests a painful reflection on the disposition and intention of the Government.

A. D. 1685. Charles the Second died of apoplexy—or, as some have asserted, by poison—in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. The great lines of his character are exhibited in a very unfavourable light, by his profligacy and licentiousness in the pursuit of criminal pleasure, which contributed also to corrupt the national manners. Immersed in luxury, he devolved the government of the kingdom upon a cabal of unprincipled ministers; who, from his extreme indolence and aversion to business, tyrannized with impunity. Charles's figure was tall and graceful; but his features, though majestic, were harsh and forbidding,—an unhappy indication of a cruel, depraved, and obdurate heart.

The Scottish administration of Charles the Second is an

instructive part of history. It affords an awful warning that false principles of government, aided by the common passions of human nature, may, in a few years, convert a civilized country into a field of blood. The progress of severe legislation was gradual, and at every step it had a plausible pretext; but it ended in scenes of cruelty, which remind us of the reigns of the most monstrous tyrants of antiquity, and which, if they had long continued, would have divided Scotland between a people of assassins and an atrocious cabal, who employed the power of the law for the purposes of rapine and murder.

CHAPTER X.

James professes the Catholic religion—arrogates absolute authority. Entails legalized. Insurrection of Argyll—his disasters—is executed. Religious toleration. Prince of Orange lands in England. James retires to France.

A. D. 1685. JAMES the SEVENTH of Scotland and SECOND of England.—The Duke of York succeeded his brother by the title of James the Second. His reign was short and inglorious; for he was the instrument of his own misfortunes, and ran headlong to destruction.

Though considerable alarm and opposition had been excited in the preceding year against a Popish successor, there was no party resolute enough in England or Scotland to disturb James's accession. In the latter kingdom, he had secured many friends among the nobility and gentry; whom he suffered to oppress the peasantry with impunity, or gratified with a part of the confiscated estates; and the Highland chieftains were won to his interests by religious sympathy and his efforts to compose their feudal differences.

During his reign, his commands were received in Scotland with the most abject submission. The poverty to which many of the nobility were reduced by multiplied extortions and confiscations, rendered them meaner slaves and more intolerant tyrants than ever. The people, always neglected, were now odious, and loaded with every injury, because attached to religious and political principles repugnant to those adopted by their prince.

No sooner did he assume the reins of government, than his fixed resolution to overturn the constitution in church and state became perfectly evident. Though the Catholics were not at this time the hundredth part of the nation, yet was James so infatuated as to make the desperate attempt

of substituting the Romish for the Protestant faith. Directed solely by the Catholic priests, he discarded the nobility from his councils; and in the very outset of his reign, expressed his contempt for the authority of Parliament, and his determination to exercise an unlimited authority.

He went openly to mass, though an illegal worship, with all the ensigns of his dignity; he sent an agent to Rome, to make submission to the Pope; and he levied taxes without the consent of Parliament. An ostentatious act of indemnity was proclaimed in Scotland; but it excluded all persons above the rank of peasants or mechanics. To all who refused to take the test oath, perpetual exile was the only alternative. By a fatality which attended James, he declined taking the coronation-oath prescribed by the constitution of Scotland, because it was repugnant to his religion. But that omission, unfortunate for him, was employed at the Revolution to justify the declaration that he had forfeited the throne.

The King's intention to render his government more arbitrary than ever, was signified to the Estates assembled at Edinburgh; and that obsequious convention, in which all desire for constitutional freedom seems to have been extinguished, responded in a suitable strain, acknowledging the absolute and unalienable power with which he was invested. The Parliament likewise concurred in the following extraordinary declaration,—that the land-tax should be conferred upon the King for life, the excise to the crown for ever; and that all in the nation fit to carry arms should be devoted to his service.

The tantalizing indemnity mitigated not the sufferings of the Presbyterians; military violence continued to increase; the soldiers, at once the judges, the jury, and the executioners, condemned and executed the fugitives in clusters on the highways. Many were transported to America, and the West Indies. Numbers of the women thus sentenced were branded on the face; the ears of the men were cut off, to prevent their return. Helpless females were fastened to stakes beneath the sea-mark, that they might suffer the lingering horrors of a protracted death, because they refused to bless or acknowledge the King.

To preserve their estates from forfeiture, or being devoured by the rapacity of the ministers, the Parliament passed an act legalizing the perpetual entail of landed inheritances. In a few instances, deeds of entail had been already executed; but the principle of entail was regarded

as repugnant to the genius of the laws. By the statute of perpetual entail, the nobility and gentry, under the pretext of securing their estates from alienation by debts, hoped to preserve them for their families in the event of an attainder, with the exception of the liferent interest or escheat of an heir.

Meanwhile, the exiled Presbyterians, inflamed with an ardent love of their country's liberty, and stimulated to revenge their private injuries, meditated the plan of a descent upon Britain. It was concerted that Monmouth should land in the West of England; where, from his popularity, it was expected that the whole country would flock to his standard; while Argyll should land in Scotland, and rouse his countrymen to arms. A supply of ten thousand pounds Sterling was advanced to Argyll by a rich English widow then in Holland; with which he provided three ships, some arms, and ammunition. But, before his arrival in Argyllshire, the government was apprized of his design, and the kingdom was placed in a posture of defence.

Upon his landing, he erected the fiery cross; which was sent through his estates, to summon his clans to arms. A body of two thousand five hundred instantly attended their chief, whose talents were soon proved to be inadequate to the enterprise. His officers became refractory and mutinous; the vessels containing his ammunition and stores were captured by an English squadron; his diminutive and disorganized army was soon surrounded by a superior hostile force; and, to consummate his destruction, he was decoyed into a morass, in attempting to reach Glasgow.

The disorder which ensued was the signal for a general desertion: In a few hours, only five hundred men remained with their leader. In crossing the Cart at Inchannen, Argyll, disguised as a peasant, was attacked and wounded by a party of militia. "Alas! unfortunate Argyll!" exclaimed he as he fell. He was instantly made a prisoner.

Though his misfortunes were universally commiserated, it could not retard his unhappy fate. As the King demanded his execution within three days, he was condemned to suffer upon his former attainder. The Duke of Monmouth was equally unfortunate and ill-fated: His measures being precipitate and ill-conducted, he soon finished his inglorious career upon the scaffold.

These abortive attempts to overthrow the King, contributed to inspire him with confidence in pursuing his unhappy designs. He avowed his intention of maintaining a formida-

ble military force to execute his will. But his favourite object was the reëstablishment of Popery as the national religion. A royal proclamation was made, granting liberty of conscience, and superseding all the penal statutes against the Papists. For this extension of the prerogative, well known by the name of *the dispensing power*, the King alleged the most plausible motives—the iniquity and hardship of subjecting any person to punishment, or disqualifying him for public trust on account of his religious principles.

A. D. 1686. Conformably to these measures, the administration of Scotland was soon committed to Papists only. The Chancellor Queensberry was discarded because he hesitated to embrace the Catholic faith; but his colleagues Perth and Melfort, like true courtiers, preferred changing their religion to offending their King. Swarms of priests were allured to Scotland; to whose care were committed the direction of the press and the superintendence of a college at Holyrood-house for the gratuitous instruction of youth: Yet few were converted to the faith of their Prince, except such as thirsted for honour and preferment.

Many circumstances contributed to excite apprehension and alarm in the Southern as well as in the Northern part of the island, and concurred to overthrow the reigning dynasty. Fifty thousand French Protestants, expatriated by the revocation of the edict of Nantz, sought refuge in England; where their sufferings were deeply commiserated, and whose miseries offered an invincible argument against the cruel and persecuting spirit of the church of Rome.

That the disabilities of the Catholics might be removed by the apparent sanction of the Legislature, James addressed a letter to the Scottish Parliament, advising the expediency and enforcing the justice of such a measure: But though every allurement was offered, the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians were neither to be flattered nor intimidated into an acquiescence. The approbation which was resolutely denied by the Parliament, was readily granted by the Privy Council; and the Monarch affected to be guided by its moderate and equitable judgment.

A. D. 1687. A series of proclamations were issued, granting religious toleration to Catholics and Presbyterians; of which the latter availed themselves, though they disapproved the repealing of the penal laws against the Catholics. But the Episcopalians, as if awakened from a lethargy, became frantic with rage, when they perceived the absolute power they had laboured to create employed for their destruction.

While the Royal authority was thus tottering in Scotland, the unfortunate Monarch lost, in the hour of danger, his last support, the attachment of the church of England, by his invasion of the rights and privileges of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and by his arbitrary imprisonment and trial of the seven bishops. Their acquittal was regarded as a national triumph over the Sovereign; and James at length arrived at that dangerous crisis to which he had been conducted by his despotism and bigotry.

He had three children,—Mary, the wife of the Stadtholder William Prince of Orange; Anne, married to Prince George of Denmark; and James, an infant. The character and relation of the Prince of Orange induced the nation to look to him for relief; and numerous solicitations were transmitted to him from England and Scotland, to emancipate the kingdom and reëstablish their religion and liberty.

Notwithstanding James was apprized of these ominous intrigues, he continued in a supine indifference, till William landed his army in England, on the 15th November 1688,—a period ever memorable in the annals of Britain. William was speedily joined by the principal nobility; while James was at once deserted by his subjects, his ministers, his own children, and by a part of that army which he had provided to oppress the nation.

His subsequent conduct was vacillating, foolish, and pusillanimous. Distracted by his fears, he sent the Queen and his infant son privately to France, and prepared to follow them; though he was urged to remain, by a few faithful friends who still adhered to him. As an apology for his conduct, he repeated a saying of his father's, that "short is the distance between the prison and the grave of princes."

Having given orders for disbanding the army, repealed the writs for a new Parliament, and thrown the great seal into the Thames, James left London in disguise; but he was detected by the populace, and obliged to return. The Prince of Orange wisely favoured his escape. In a few days after, he found a vessel, in which he was conveyed to France.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVOLUTION, 1688.

William the Third—his magnanimity in the affairs of Scotland. Proceedings of Parliament. Insurrection. Battle of Killicrankie. Massacre in Glenco.

WILLIAM the THIRD.—The throne having become vacant by the voluntary abdication of James, the English Parliament passed a resolution to confer the crown on the Prince and Princess of Orange, and the Prince to be invested with the sole administration of the kingdom. The royal prerogative and the people's rights were carefully defined in the bill of rights; which declares, that "the king is incompetent to suspend the laws or their execution; that he cannot levy money nor maintain a standing army in time of peace, but with the consent of Parliament; that subjects have a right to petition the king and the parliament; that the parliament must be frequently convened; and that elections and parliamentary debates must be free." Such was the first settlement of the English government at the æra of the Revolution.

While freedom and peace were thus established in England, the revolution was effected in Scotland with equal facility. No sooner were the King's flight and the desertion of his troops reported in that kingdom, than all Catholics were dismissed from the Privy Council, A simultaneous attack was made by the populace of Edinburgh on the palace of Holyroodhouse: The guards were overpowered, and some of them murdered; the Royal chapel and the schools of the Jesuits were burned or demolished; and the abbey church was plundered of its images and ornaments, which were consigned to the flames.

A.D. 1689.

To unite the Protestants against the Papists, a political alarm was generally diffused in England, and thence communicated to Scotland. A rumour prevailed in the latter kingdom, that the Irish had landed in the West, and were advancing to Hamilton. Six thousand Presbyterians immediately appeared in arms, to repel the imaginary foe; but finding no foreign enemy to encounter, they dispersed in small parties to disarm and rout their domestic oppressors.

The Episcopal clergy in particular, were treated without ceremony: They were dragged from their altars and churches, and conducted through the country in mock procession. Two hundred clergymen of that persuasion were forcibly

ejected: But it reflects the greatest honour on the Cameronians, that though stigmatized and cruelly persecuted as assassins by the ecclesiastical and civil power, they tarnished not their ascendancy by the massacre of their enemies.

Few parallels to the magnanimous behaviour of William, in organizing the government of Scotland, are to be found in history. He availed himself of no insidous expedient to obtain the sovereignty of that kingdom; but he was directed by the spontaneous choice and consent of the people. A conflux of nobility and gentry having been attracted to London, William assembled them, and requested their advice on the most eligible means to establish permanently their religion and laws.

A corresponding feeling of confidence and regard was instantly elicited: An address, signed by thirty noblemen and eighty gentlemen, was presented to the Prince, requesting him to assume the government and summon a convention of estates. With this request he instantly complied. A convention assembled at Edinburgh. Its proceedings were bold and decisive: A resolution was passed, declaring that King James, by maleadministration, had forfeited his right to the crown, and that the throne was become vacant. This memorable transaction, which terminated the hereditary reign of the Stuarts, happened eighty-six years after the union of the crowns.

The convention likewise resolved that the crown should be tendered to the Prince and Princess of Orange; and that it should descend, in failure of their heirs, to the Princess Anne and her issue. Due attention was given to the civil and religious rights of the nation. An enumeration of almost every grievance in the two preceding reigns was made in a *declaration and claim of right*; for the Scots were desirous that nothing should be left unadjusted between them and their new sovereign.

The Revolution, indeed, introduced maxims into the government of Scotland which had been hitherto unknown or disregarded. To increase the authority of the prince, or to secure the privileges of the nobles, had been almost the sole object of the Scottish laws: But, by *the claim of right*, the liberties of the people were secured, and they gradually acquired more consideration and influence in Parliament. Though the aristocratical spirit predominated until the union of the kingdoms, and retarded the national happiness and improvement, the people enjoyed more security; their

minds were gradually expanded; and they formed more extensive plans of industry, commerce, and police.

William and Mary were crowned at London and proclaimed in Scotland on the same day. The estates deputed Argyll, Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple, to present the crown to the Prince, and administer the coronation-oath to him. The instrument of government and the enumeration of grievances were first read; and a petition was subjoined, praying that the convention of the estates might be changed into a parliament.

When the coronation-oath was administered, William paused at the clause requiring the extirpation of heresy; and he consented to receive it only on the assurance that it did not require him to become a religious persecutor. The tolerant spirit of the Prince displeased the Episcopal clergy especially, who, in consequence of the establishment of the Presbyterian religion, attached themselves to the interests of the exiled King. They were on that account called Jacobites; and, from their refusal of the oaths to Government, they acquired the appellation of Nonjurors.

Agreeably to the prayer of the petition, the convention of estates was changed into a parliament. This novel measure was justified by the plea of necessity. James, who had landed in Ireland, threatened to invade Scotland; and Graham of Claverhouse, created Viscount Dundee, had retired to the Highlands and threatened the kingdom with a civil war: Hence the convention could not be dissolved with safety, nor could a parliament be freely elected.

An ample redress of grievances was expeditiously made; and it reflects the greatest honour on the wisdom and generosity of William, that he refused his consent to a bill for incapacitating such persons for the public service as had opposed the Revolution or abetted the violent measures of the preceding reigns.

James's adherents, despairing of obtaining an ascendancy in the Parliament, resorted to the most desperate measures. Viscount Dundee—formerly distinguished for his cruelty, but an able, intrepid, and experienced officer—ambitious to equal the exploits of Montrose, retired from the Parliament to Lochaber, where he summoned the clans to meet him in arms.

Seventeen hundred men, armed with their broad-swords, obeyed the summons: But a desultory and protracted warfare suited not their native ardour and impatience. After several predatory excursions, in which they acquired im-

mense booty, they deserted in such numbers, that their general retired once more to the hills, until an expected reinforcement of Irish troops should arrive. Upon their appearance, he summoned the clans, and descended into Atholl. The castle of Blair, the seat of the Marquis of Atholl, had been seized and fortified by one of his vassals in the interest of King James.

Aware of the necessity of preserving that post, Dundee hastened with his troops to prevent its capture by General Mackay, who was advancing from Dunkeld with three thousand infantry and a few troops of horse. The Atholl men, who had been stationed at the pass of Killicrankie, to prevent the advance of Dundee, deserted their chieftain; and, filling their bonnets with water on the banks of the Garry, drank to the health of King James, and set off to join their countrymen under Dundee.

It was upon the western declivity of the pass of Killicrankie that the hostile troops were drawn up in battalia. Within an hour of sunset, the signal for battle was given by Dundee. His troops advanced in square columns from the hills, and attacked Mackay's forces, which were disposed in a thin and extended line. The attack of the clans was impetuous and irresistible; the weight of their columns, and their ponderous broad-swords, dispersed and routed the left wing of the enemy.

The terrible onset and execution of the Highlanders is thus described by an officer who was engaged in the action. "There were scarcely ever such strokes given in Europe as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of their antagonists were cleft through the skull to the very chest; others had their heads divided horizontally above the ears; the bodies and cross-belts of some were cut through at one blow; pikes and small-swords were cut like willows."*

While the victors were intently engaged in plundering the baggage, Mackay silently conducted his army across the Garry, and fled through the mountains to Stirling. The Royal army left two thousand dead upon the field of battle or in the hands of the enemy; the Highlanders lost nine hundred; and, had it not been for the death of their general, who was killed in the moment of victory, not a man of the Royalists would have escaped. Dundee survived only to write an account of the battle to James. A rude stone on the field of

* Memoirs of Dundee, by an officer.

battle was erected to commemorate the scene of his victory. His remains were interred in the parish-church of Blair-Atholl.

With the death of their gallant general, the successful career of the Jacobites terminated. Mackay soon reappeared with augmented forces, and surprised a detachment of the Highlanders at Perth. Cannon, an Irishman, succeeded Dundee as commander of the Highland army; and withdrew to the mountains, whither Mackay's cavalry could not follow but with disadvantage. By a sudden and secret march, the Highlanders surprised a regiment of Cameronians at Dunkeld; but the latter defended themselves with such obA. D. } stinate bravery, that the discouraged clans dispersed 1690. } and returned home. They resumed their arms the ensuing year; but, on descending into Strathmore, they were again intimidated and dispersed. To restrain their future incursions, Mackay built Fort-William.

Notwithstanding these reverses, the Jacobite leaders maintained a secret correspondence with the exiled King, and fomented the discontent and animosity which the Revolution had produced. So violent was the party-spirit of the times, that every concession made by William to the Presbyterians offended the English church; and every indulgence to the Scottish Episcopalians increased the jealousy and resentment of the Presbyterians.

The last hopes of the discontented were placed on the expected refusal of Parliament to redress the popular grievances; but they were frustrated by the wisdom and moderation of the Government. Agreeably to the *claim of right*, the sentence pronounced against Argyll and others was reversed; the forfeitures and fines incurred during the late reigns were repealed, and the sufferers indemnified; the act of supremacy was repealed, and Presbytery restored: But William complained that his commissioners, in abolishing patronage, had exceeded his instructions.

It seems to have been his predominant wish to conciliate and attach the disaffected to his government, by clemency A. D. } and favour. With this view, twelve thousand pounds 1691. } were intrusted to the Earl of Breadalbane, to be distributed among the Highland chieftains, to purchase their forbearance: But, from an unhappy misunderstanding between that nobleman and some of the hostile clans, measures of a coercive nature were resorted to.

A proclamation was issued, requiring the submission of the refractory clans before the expiration of the current

year, under the penalty of military execution. The chieftains, intimidated, hastened to take the oaths to Government; except Macdonald of Glenco, who lingered until the time specified had expired. His disinclination was at last overcome by a sense of his danger; but, to aggravate his misfortunes, he was overtaken on his journey by a storm which detained him some days, and afforded his enemies an opportunity of representing his contumacy as meriting the severest punishment.

Macdonald presented himself before the Sheriff of Argyll, who reluctantly received his submission and transmitted his oath to Government; but it was maliciously concealed. Instigated by Sir John Dalrymple, the Secretary for Scotland, the King was advised to sign and countersign a warrant of military execution against Glenco and his thievish clan.

A. D. 1692. This order was executed by Campbell of Glenlyon, with savage barbarity, accompanied with a breach of hospitality. The cold and long nights of winter were chosen as the fittest season, when the devoted clan could not escape to the hills nor exist without shelter. Macdonald, considering himself under the protection of the law, had returned home; but, after the lapse of a month, a party of soldiers from Fort-William, under Captain Campbell, appeared in the vale, and were kindly received and hospitably entertained for a fortnight by the unsuspicious clan; when an order arrived from Government to attack their defenceless victims at midnight, and not to suffer a man under seventy years to escape their swords.

Campbell hesitated not to execute this obnoxious mandate, though his niece was married to one of Glenco's sons. That chieftain was shot dead in the back part of the head, with two bullets, as he was rising from his bed; his wife was stript naked by the soldiers, and expired next morning with grief and horror. The murder of Glenco was the signal for a general massacre. Even the women were butchered while attempting to save their tender offspring; and the helpless children, while imploring mercy from the soldiers, to whose knees they clung, shared their fate.

About forty persons were thus sacrificed; and the greater part of those who escaped to the hills, about one hundred and fifty in number, perished of hunger and cold. Rapine and desolation succeeded the carnage: The cottages were reduced to ashes; the cattle were driven away; and, with the other moveables, they were divided as lawful spoil among the officers and soldiers.

All Europe was shocked with the news of a transaction so inconsistent with the tolerant and merciful character of William. The Jacobites were rendered furious with resentment; but their mutual jealousies and the disclosure of their intrigues deterred them from any alarming opposition. Although a Parliamentary investigation to discover the authors of this atrocious deed was loudly demanded, it was suppressed, as the King with his ministers would have been involved in the odium and guilt.

CHAPTER XII.

Origin of the national debt. Commercial projects. Colony of Darien—its misfortunes. Death and character of William. Death of James.

THE extensive enterprises in which the Crown was engaged after the Revolution—the settlement of Britain, the reduction of Ireland, and the prosecution of the war with France—were productive of greater expense than the nation expected, or than Parliament could be persuaded to defray. Unable, therefore, to answer the necessities of Government by the annual produce of taxes, the ministers were forced to anticipate the supplies, by borrowing money from individuals; to whom securities were granted for the interest and the capital, on branches of the public revenue which were believed to be sufficient in a few years to repay the loan, and so to remove the incumbrance. Such was the origin of the national debt; which, before the death of William, amounted to more than twenty millions,—a sum which at that time appeared so enormous, that an alarm of national bankruptcy became universal, and occasioned much clamour and invective against the Government.

From the burdens thus imposed for the support of the Government, the Scots were not exempted; but they contributed with reluctance to the expenses of a war from which they could derive little advantage or glory. The Parliament A.D. 1695. was never summoned but to provide supplies. In the present conjuncture, it required great influence and address to allay the ferment occasioned by the massacre of Glenco. A commission passed the great seal for taking a precognition of the massacre: But, after a report was drawn up and presented to the Parliament, which voted an address to the King, imploring him to prosecute the Master of Stair, as the chief adviser of that foul murder, the affair was quashed, and the delinquents were promoted in the service.

To induce the Scots to vote new subsidies, the Marquis of Tweeddale, who presided in the Parliament as commissioner, proposed, in the King's name, that if they would pass an act for establishing a colony for commercial purposes in Africa or America, his Majesty would grant them such chartered privileges as he had conferred in similar cases on the subjects of his other dominions.

A scheme that promised to enrich the country was eagerly embraced; and an act was passed to erect a trading company to Africa and the Indies, with permission to plant colonies and build towns and forts in places not inhabited or settled by European powers. An exemption from all duties was granted for the space of twenty years.

The whole nation entertained the most extravagant hopes of success. In a short time, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was subscribed for a capital. Paterson, the projector, had contrived to establish the settlement upon the isthmus of Darien, that a trade might be carried on in the South Sea as well as in the Atlantic, and even to extend their enterprises to the East Indies. The situation of the settlement was well chosen; and much success might have been reasonably expected from the enterprise and perseverance of the colonists: But its vicinity to Portobello and Carthagena, at that time the great marts of the Spaniards in America,—and the facilities which its situation afforded for cutting off all communication between these and the port of Panama on the South Sea, whither the treasures of Peru A. D. } were annually conveyed,—filled the court of Madrid 1698. } with the most alarming apprehensions; and the Spanish ambassador at London was instructed to present warm remonstrances on the subject to the court of England.

The English themselves became jealous of the colony of New Caledonia; and William was persuaded to send secret orders to the governors of the English settlements, to interdict all communication with the Scottish colony. This ungenerous conduct was fatal to the colonists. Deprived of all support in America, and receiving but scanty supplies from Europe, they were compelled to surrender to the Spaniards. A. D. } Before the disasters of the colony were reported in 1699. } Scotland, a second and third expedition had sailed from that country, with about sixteen hundred fresh adventurers. Upon their arrival in America, they found the huts burned and the forts demolished. Within three months after, they were attacked by the Spaniards, whom they at first repulsed; but a fleet from Carthagena forced them to capitu-

late, on permission to return to France with all their effects. For such a long voyage their ships were unprovided, and few of the colonists returned to their native country.

A. D. 1700. Disappointed of their hopes, the Scots were struck with consternation and despair. They were inflamed with rage against William; whom they accused of duplicity, ingratitude, and inhumanity. The affairs of Darien were too important to be passed over in silence: The honour and independence of the nation remained to be vindicated; and a series of popular and spirited resolutions were voted by the Scottish Parliament. William made some prudent concessions, and soothed the complainants with hopes of redress: But the disasters of Darien were long remembered by the Scots with resentment and regret.

The remainder of this reign presents few interesting events. When the settlement of the crown was extended in England to the house of Hanover, the Scots were too much exasperated to concur in the same salutary measure; but, to secure the Protestant succession, the frequently-projected scheme of a union of the two kingdoms was revived. William's last message to the English Commons earnestly recommended this measure; which he was unable to accomplish himself, from his approaching dissolution. He died of fever, in A. D. 1702. consequence of a fall from his horse, in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years.

The character of William has been variously appreciated, agreeably to the political creed and feelings of the historians. He is unjustly represented by Smollett as "dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart,—a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign." He was silent and reserved in his deportment: But his taciturnity and reserve were probably contracted through the constraint imposed upon his youth; and his indifference to the fine arts must be attributed to the disadvantages of a neglected education. His disposition was not always averse to the enjoyments of domestic life and social intercourse. He possessed a sound and provident judgment, an invention ever fertile in resources, a calm and serene magnanimity in battle and danger, moderation in prosperity and fortitude in adversity, fidelity to his allies, and an invincible attachment to public liberty. He was not only the deliverer of England, but he became the arbiter and protector of the liberties of Europe; and it constitutes the purest glory of his life and reign, that

he was the first prince in Christendom who introduced religious toleration into his dominions.

The greatest blemishes of his reign were the introduction of the dishonourable practice of corrupting parliaments and laying the foundation of the national debt; his inattention to the selection of his ministers in Scotland, where he was betrayed into arbitrary exertions of power; though during his reign not a single person in that kingdom perished on the scaffold for treason, nor was there a noble family ruined by forfeitures.*

The Revolution was in every point of view one of the greatest events that ever distinguished the history of this or of any other country; and was effected with a firmness, disinterestedness, moderation, and patriotic adherence to principle and sound constitutional law, unparalleled in the history of the human race. And when we read the annals of the previous reigns, and reflect on the arbitrary and despotic measures of the Stuarts, and the violations of law and liberty of which they were guilty, in order to compass their bloody and destructive ends, it is impossible not to feel our hearts warmed with grateful admiration of those who, at the hazard of their fortunes and lives, expelled the tyrant from his throne without bloodshed, and brought to reign over us, according to the constitution and the laws, a prince who proved himself not merely our deliverer from Popery and foreign influence and domination, but one of the greatest, wisest, and best monarchs that ever swayed the British sceptre.

The exiled King James died a short time before his son-in-law. Subsequent to his flight from England, he resided in France—a dependant on the bounty of Louis, immersed in the most sordid superstitions, and a disciple and companion of the monks of La Trappe, whom he emulated in the most ascetic mortifications.

CHAPTER XIII.

Queen Anne. Convention Parliament dissolved. Act of security. Fraser of Lovat. Treaty of union. Disturbances in the Western counties. Summary of the treaty—which is ratified. Privy Council abolished.

A. D. 1702. QUEEN ANNE.—The Princess Anne, the eldest daughter of James, succeeded William. Her acces-

* Laing's History of Scotland.

sion was acceptable both to the Whigs and Tories: To the former, as the settlement of the crown was fulfilled according to the claim of right; to the latter, as a lineal descendant of the house of Stuart was restored to the throne. The Tories were likewise pleased with the hope that, as there was little probability of her having heirs of her own body, she would be induced by the ties of fraternal affection to alter the succession in favour of her brother.

The Queen notified officially her accession to the throne in a letter to the Scottish Privy Council; to whom she also signified her royal pleasure that the members of the administration would continue in office until she should send them a new commission. She likewise assured them of her unalterable purpose to preserve inviolably the religion, the laws, and the liberties of the kingdom.

The Convention Parliament, which had subsisted during the whole of William's reign, was, by a late statute, impowered to meet within twenty days after the demise of the King, in order to provide for the public safety and the Protestant succession; but the Queen had, by several adjournments, deferred its meeting nearly three months after her accession.

As the head of the Jacobites, the Duke of Hamilton applied in person to the Queen to dissolve the Parliament and call a new one; but she declined compliance. Upon the assembling of the Parliament at Edinburgh, the Duke protested against its proceedings as an illegal assembly, and immediately withdrew at the head of eighty members. The remainder, consisting of the majority, disregarding Hamilton's secession, proceeded to business agreeably to her Majesty's commission; and in pursuance of the late King's recommendation, commissioners were appointed to meet with a deputation of the English Parliament at Westminster, to treat for an incorporating union of the kingdoms.

After the lapse of two months spent in adjusting the preliminaries, the Scottish deputies proposed that the rights of the Darien company should be preserved and maintained,—as a share in the plantation trade was, they said, due to a nation impoverished during the preceding century by the absence of its nobility at the court of England, by the loss of its commercial privileges in France, and by the restrictions imposed upon them since the Restoration, as well as by their late disasters at Darien. These demands were considered by the English commissioners as incompatible with the interests of their East India Company; and as the discordant

interests of those opposite monopolies could not be reconciled, the treaty was adjourned.

A.D. 1703. In compliance with the wishes of the nation, the Convention Parliament, that had existed fourteen years, was dissolved, and a new one was summoned to provide for the deficiencies of the former supplies; for the people, having begun to dispute the authority of Parliament, refused payment of their taxes which it had imposed. A change of ministry was likewise effected by the influence of Queensberry; when the Whigs were displaced, and those statesmen were introduced into office who had occasionally opposed the measures of the last reign. The Jacobites exulted in the hope of acquiring power; the Episcopal clergy anticipated an alteration in the government of the church favourable to them; but the Presbyterians, jealous of the Queen's indulgences and liberality, were alarmed for their religion and the Protestant succession.

When the new Parliament was opened by Queensberry, two bills were introduced; the first confirming the Presbyterian church, and the second declaring it high treason to make any alteration in the claim of right. Presbytery was thus indirectly sanctioned by the penalty of treason; and the Jacobites, abandoning all hopes of Episcopal supremacy, and of overturning the Revolution settlement, deserted the commissioner.

As the security of England required that the Protestant succession should be secured in Scotland, it was the obvious policy of all parties in the latter kingdom to obtain a satisfactory redress of their grievances, and an assurance that the national honour and interests would be duly respected in the expected settlement of the union.

To provide for the honour and independence of the crown and kingdom, in the event of the Queen's demise, an act of security was proposed,—that Parliament should meet within twenty days after the Queen's demise; that in that interval the government should be lodged with the Privy Council; that Catholics and aliens should be excluded from the Parliament, which should nominate and appoint a successor of the royal line and Protestant faith; that the person thus nominated should be disqualified for administering the government of both kingdoms, unless a free communication of commercial advantages should be previously obtained. The commissions of civil and military officers were to expire with the sovereign; and all Scotsmen fit for service were ordered to be trained in military exercises once a month. The power

of declaring peace and war was intrusted to the sovereign; but with the advice of the Estates, for the purpose of withholding military aid from the English in their Continental wars, should they refuse a reasonable participation of commercial advantages.

Three months were artfully consumed in deliberating upon these measures; during which, a greater degree of spirit and eloquence were elicited than had been displayed on any former occasion. A majority of fifty-nine votes appeared for the act; but the royal assent was expressly refused. In this emergency, a bill was introduced, by the Earl of Marchmont, to settle the succession in favour of the Princess Sophia Dowager of Hanover, the next Protestant descendant of the Elector Palatine, and of Elizabeth, daughter of James the Sixth: But the members were too much exasperated to listen to a compromise; and the commissioner, despairing of supplies, adjourned the Parliament.

The court of France, that had acknowledged the exiled Prince of Wales as his father's lawful successor, considered the present opportunity favourable for strengthening his interests in Scotland. Accordingly, Simon Fraser of Lovat was employed as an emissary, to ascertain the disposition of the Highland chieftains towards a revolution.

There are many striking vicissitudes in this adventurer's history: He had escaped from justice for a heinous crime, and fled to France; where, by becoming a zealous convert to the Catholic faith, he recommended himself to the exiled King and the court of France. Upon his return from Scotland to France, his designs were discovered at London; and the French court, as a suitable reward for his services, confined him for several years in the Bastile. After regaining his liberty, he distinguished himself by his ardour in promoting the accession of the Hanoverian family, and he was gratified with the estate and titles of Lovat; but, for his insidious conduct in the last Scottish rebellion, he made expiation on the scaffold.

The urgent necessities of the treasury rendered an immediate session of Parliament indispensable. Large arrears were due to the army; and unless a speedy liquidation of these could be procured, the troops might be tempted to mutiny. Queensberry was removed from the administration; and the Marquis of Tweeddale was appointed to succeed him as Parliamentary commissioner. As the less of two evils, the Queen judged it more eligible to ratify the act of security, which might afterwards be modified or repealed, than to ha-

zard the separation of the crowns. The Parliament was soothed with strong professions of liberality and regard, and flattered with magnificent promises.

A.D. 1705. But while the tempest was allayed in Scotland, it was ready to burst on the English Parliament. That body was no sooner apprized of the ratification of the act of security, than a spirit of indignation and resentment was immediately awakened. Considering the act of security as an act of exclusion for the separation of the crowns, the English resolved upon a prompt and severe retaliation: They declared the Scots to be aliens in England; they interdicted all communication between the kingdoms for commercial purposes, and fitted out cruisers to interrupt the Scottish trade with France.

The fortresses on the Borders were repaired and garrisoned, and the adjacent counties were ordered to prepare for defence. No expedient now remained to tranquillize the public mind, but a union of the kingdoms; which the Government resolved to defer no longer. Indeed, this was the alternative left to the Scots; as the English Parliament had resolutely determined, that if they would not accede to a treaty and adopt the Hanoverian succession within the space of one year, the English nation would prefer a separate succession, rather than allow the act of security to remain unrepealed.

With the view of forwarding the treaty of union, Queensberry and his friends were again introduced into office. To that minister, with Argyll, the Queen intrusted the choice of commissioners for the Scots. Thirty-one were appointed for each kingdom, to meet at the Cockpit in London.

A.D. 1706. The Queen nominated the English commissioners: The Scottish were chosen with an artful admixture of each party, that their acquiescence might influence and secure the suffrages of their friends in Parliament. When the commissioners commenced their deliberations, it was first proposed that the two kingdoms should be united into one by the name of Great Britain, under the same legislature and line of succession. A federal union was proposed by the Scots, as most congenial to the wishes of their countrymen; who were disposed to accept and avail themselves of the privileges of Englishmen, with a free intercourse and navigation of trade, but who were disinclined to submit to the same imposts as the English, especially the tax upon salt and malt, from which they demanded a perpetual exemption.

Both parties became reconciled at length to an incorpo-

rating union; which, admitting a participation of commerce, required mutual contributions and equalizing taxes. As the same imposts required the same laws with England for the regulation of trade, a new court of exchequer became necessary in Scotland for determining questions of revenue.

The integrity of the civil and criminal courts was preserved, as were also hereditary offices and jurisdictions. In determining the proportional representation of peers and commons, the greatest difficulties were to be surmounted. Jealous of their dignity, and proud of their independence, the Scots revolted at the thoughts of being represented in the united Parliament by thirty-eight commissioners; which was only about a fifth part of their own representation: They therefore proposed that sixty should be admitted; but the English maintained that a due proportion should be observed between the share of legislation and the burdens of government.

After much unavailing dispute, it was mutually agreed upon, that *forty-five commoners*, and *no more*, and *sixteen peers*, should be an adequate proportion; being nearly a twelfth part of the united Parliament. Above two thirds of the Scottish commons, and nine tenths of the nobility, were thus personally excluded.*

Twenty-nine articles were mutually agreed upon by the commissioners, and prepared for the approbation of the English and Scottish Parliaments. And, to prevent premature discussion, the tenor of the articles was kept a profound secret until the time of meeting.

Notwithstanding the commissioners had unanimously concurred in the proposed union, it was necessary to secure the support of the Parliamentary leaders. About five hundred thousand pounds were promised by the English treasury, for the ostensible purpose of liquidating the public debt, as an equivalent for the customs and excise, and to reduce the coin to the English standard; but a great part was expected to be distributed among discarded statesmen and the families that had suffered by the misfortunes of the American colony; though, in order to silence clamorous opposition in the ensuing Parliament, the particular individuals were left undetermined.

The concluding session of the Scottish Parliament was

* At the union of the crowns in 1603, the Scottish nobility consisted of 1 duke, 2 marquises, 24 earls, and 37 lords. At the union of the kingdoms, in 1707, they consisted of 10 dukes, 3 marquises, 74 earls, 17 viscounts, and 49 lords; making an increase of 89.

held in October. No sooner was the treaty published, than the loudest disapprobation was reiterated from all parts of the country. All ranks were indignant at the prospect of degrading the sovereignty and surrendering the independence of an ancient kingdom: But, assured of a decided superiority, the commissioner proceeded in the examination of the different articles, though he was insulted and menaced by the populace.

A very animated debate was maintained during the discussion of the treaty. Strength of argument and daring eloquence, excited by national animosity, were exhibited in an uncommon degree. The friends of the ministry represented the necessity and importance of a permanent union between two kingdoms adapted by nature to form an undivided state; they represented the advantages arising from a free access to the privileges, constitution, and trade with England, as more than counterbalancing the loss of an ideal sovereignty and independence, which the Scots could but nominally preserve; and they urged, with great appearance of truth, that a British Parliament could have no interests to pursue independent of the common welfare, which must continue to be promoted under the same legislature, while the Protestant succession would secure the continuance of civil and religious liberty.

But the union was zealously opposed, not only by the Jacobites, whose particular interest it was to obstruct such a measure, but also by many independent members of the Scottish Parliament, from principles of pure patriotism. Of these, the most fierce and resolute were the Marquis of Annandale, Lord Belhaven, and Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun. Their eloquence and spirit were unavailing; a large majority of the nobility supported the union, though their order was to suffer the chief degradation.

While every article was successively disputed and confirmed in Parliament, a civil war was nearly kindled in the Western counties. The populace in Glasgow, incensed against their magistrates, seized, and for some days retained possession of the town. A numerous party of Cameronians appeared in arms at Dumfries, burned the articles of union, and affixed a placard against them to the market-cross; and the malecontents, emboldened by the forbearance of Government, assembled openly for military exercise, forming themselves into regiments and appointing officers.

The ramifications of the conspiracy extended to the counties of Perth and Angus. The Presbyterians were about to

coalesce with the Jacobites; and Cunningham, an old and experienced officer, was privately despatched to apprize the popular leaders at Edinburgh that they were ready to march in order to disperse a mercenary Parliament. At that critical moment, their designs were betrayed to the commissioner; who gained over the Duke of Hamilton; by whose means the insurrection was deferred, and subsequently abandoned.

That versatile statesman had oftener than once disappointed the expectations of the Jacobites, to whom he nominally adhered. A scheme was concerted by the Opposition, that when the article respecting the representation should be discussed, they should enter a solemn protest against it, and on its refusal, retire from the house and prepare an address to the Queen. Had their resolution been adhered to, it is asserted that the commissioner was prepared to adjourn the Parliament, and finally desist from a union to which the nation was so generally averse. Hamilton was, however, gained to the court interest; and his terms were adjusted the very evening preceding the day on which his solemn dissent was to be expressed. Next morning, he pretended indisposition; and when compelled by the severe reproaches of his partisans to attend the house, he shrunk from his post; and, during an altercation with his friends, the Parliament approved the disputed article, and the opportunity was lost.

The remaining articles were speedily disposed of without opposition; and the treaty was ratified and transmitted to the Queen. The English Parliament, after a warm debate, approved of it also by a large majority; the Queen gave her royal assent; and, agreeably to the articles of the treaty, the union commenced on the 1st of May 1707. The principal articles were to the following purport.

That the *two* kingdoms of England and Scotland should be united into *one*, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN; that the succession to the United Kingdom should remain to the Princess Sophia, Dutchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants; and that all Papists, and persons marrying Papists, should be excluded from and be for ever incapable of inheriting the crown of Great Britain, or any part of the dominions thereto belonging; that the whole people of Great Britain should be represented by one Parliament, in which sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, chosen for Scotland, should sit and vote; that the subjects of the United Kingdom should enjoy an entire freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, and reciprocal

communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging to the subjects of either kingdom; that the laws in regard to public right, policy, and civil government, should be the same throughout the United Kingdom; and that no alteration should be made in the laws respecting private rights, unless for the evident utility of the subjects residing in Scotland; that the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland should not be affected by the union; and that the Court of Session, with all the other courts of judicature, should remain as constituted by the laws of that kingdom, and with the same authority and privileges as before the union,—subject, notwithstanding, to such regulations as might be made by the Parliament of Great Britain.

But the union was still incomplete, so long as the authority or existence of the Privy Council was preserved. That institution was at once a council of state and a court of justice; and while the Scottish constitution remained entire, its oppression was restrained: But when the Parliament was abolished, it was reasonably apprehended, that, without any restraint but the British Parliament, to which complaints could be with difficulty transmitted, the Privy Council must soon degenerate into the tyranny from which the kingdom had been emancipated at the Revolution.

A bill was therefore introduced into Parliament, to abolish the obnoxious Council. Its jurisdiction was transferred to the Court of Justiciary; which was appointed to make a regular circuit twice a year; and to the sheriffs, to whom returns of elections were to be made. The more local and unimportant affairs were devolved on the justices of the peace; which were now permanently established. A measure of a less popular character received likewise the sanction of the legislature two years after the union,—the extending of the English laws against high treason and misprision of treason to Scotland, notwithstanding the unanimous opposition and the remonstrances of the Scottish representatives. They, however, obtained a precise rule for the determining of treason; and the torture, which had already fallen into disuse, was legally abolished.

Thus was finally accomplished the union of England and Scotland, above more than a century after the union of the crowns. This great event completed what the Revolution had begun, the almost total annihilation of the power of the nobles. As the aristocracy were depressed and circumscribed, the people acquired liberty. Neglected formerly by their kings, and oppressed by the nobles, they have emerged into

dignity; and, adopted into a constitution more liberal than their own, they have extended their commerce, refined their manners, improved in the elegancies of life, and successfully cultivated the arts and sciences. As a people, they have since the union enjoyed more happiness, and as individuals, they have risen to more wealth and consequence, than they could have attained in their disunited state.

A new series of events commenced at the union; and, with the removal of its legislature and seat of government to the British capital, the history of Scotland, as a separate kingdom, expires.

SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLES.

THE REBELLION IN 1715.

The union of the kingdoms was a very unacceptable measure to the Scottish nation in general. In their common hatred of an event of which they possessed not the foresight to appreciate the advantages, the religious and political factions forgot for a time their animosities towards each other. The Presbyterian clergy, who had zealously exerted their influence in favour of the union, as it secured a permanent establishment to their religion, were charged with treachery to their country—with sacrificing its liberty and independence to the aggrandizement of their own order. The Cameronians had nearly formed a league with the Jacobites. The most violent Antijacobites were almost disposed to view the union as a greater evil than the recall of the exiled King.

There were two political parties in Scotland,—the Whigs, which consisted chiefly of the great body of the Presbyterians; and the Jacobites, comprehending for the most part the Episcopalians and Catholics. The Whigs were most numerous in the Low-country, where the English or a kindred language is spoken; the Jacobites predominated in the more Northern and mountainous regions, where the vernacular tongue is Gaëlic or Earse, being a branch of the Celtic.

Though, in point of extent, the Highlands are nearly equal to one half of the kingdom, they do not contain above one eighth of the population. They are intersected by glens or valleys, each of which was appropriated as the residence of a separate clan or tribe. There a mixture of the patriarchal and feudal governments existed in full vigour. By their predatory habits, the clans lived in perpetual hostility with the Low-country and with each other. Unconditional obedience was yielded by the vassals to their chiefs. Being always ready for war, they only wanted a general and a cause; and they seldom inquired or were informed whether the service was lawful or unlawful.

Since the union of the crowns, the Highlanders had gradually acquired a superiority in the use of arms over the Lowlanders. The latter, after the termination of the civil war, living under the protection of the laws, or sunk into despondency by the tyranny of the Stuarts, lost much of their martial spirit and habits; whereas the Highlanders were bred to arms and active exercises from their infancy. A military spirit and a contempt of labour distinguished even the very lowest of the commoners.

In England, the people might be divided into Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites; though the two last were closely allied to each other. Notwithstanding that the Whigs had, during the civil war, obtained the ascendancy in the House of Commons, the greater part of the nobility consisted of Churchmen and Tories. It has been ascertained, from the archives of the Stuart family, now in the King's library, that a very great number of the aristocracy were Jacobites at the commencement of the last rebellion.

From the Revolution, the Highland chiefs kept a constant correspondence with James the Second as long as he lived; entreating him to procure from the King of France a body of troops to invade Britain, and engaging to support the invasion by an insurrection. After James's death, they continued their correspondence with his son at St Germains; assuring him of their unalterable attachment to his family and their readiness to appear in arms in his cause. In the latter part of Queen Anne's reign, the Tories got into power; and they projected the restoration of the Stuarts.

By a singular fatality, every attempt made in their favour proved abortive.* To learn the number, ability, and the spirit of his partisans in Scotland, James sent over Colonel Hooke: But that emissary, by his misconduct, rather divided than reconciled the Scottish Jacobites. Being a minion of the Duke of Perth, he attached himself wholly to the Duke of Atholl and those other zealous adherents who were disposed to submit to the exiled prince without conditions: The Duke of Hamilton, the Earl Marischal, with other moderate Jacobites, were consequently neglected.

* In 1713, two French gentlemen arrived on the West Coast of Scotland, as emissaries from the house of Stuart; and were conducted by Rob Roy, who was well acquainted with the state of the Highland districts, and those in them who were favourable to that family, to Lochaber; he also provided them with guides to conduct them to the chiefs of Macdonald and Macleod, to whom they had despatches. Of this transaction, the officers of state were apprized; and Rob Roy narrowly escaped imprisonment by a stratagem.

Hooke, upon his return to France, made so favourable a report of the disposition and power of the Scottish Jacobites, that the attention of the French court was roused to make an effort in favour of the exiled prince; though it is probable that Louis desired or expected little more than to perplex the English Government and to distract the operation of the English army in Flanders.

A naval expedition was hastily prepared at Dunkirk, and placed under the command of the Chevalier de Fourbin, having five thousand troops on board, with the Pretender. This armament sailed directly for the Frith of Forth. The juncture was considered most favourable; as not above two thousand five hundred troops remained in the country, and the national fortresses were intrusted to persons of doubtful fidelity. But the scheme was frustrated by the vigilance and activity of Sir George Byng, the English admiral; who arrived in the Frith of Forth almost as soon as the enemy. Fourbin deemed it prudent to make his escape; and having been tossed a month in the British seas by a violent storm, he returned to Dunkirk.

A. D. 1715. The first rebellion was accelerated by the violent and impolitic measures of the Whigs; who, having been banished from office in the last years of Queen Anne's reign, retaliated upon the Tories, who were in their turn discarded after the accession of the family of Hanover. Not satisfied with the removal of their political opponents from the administration, the Whigs demanded their impeachment; and the nation was convulsed with discontent and tumult.

The Earl of Mar, the Secretary of State for Scotland, was sincerely disposed to promote the interests of the house of Hanover. He had procured a loyal address from the Highland clans, to be presented to the new Sovereign, on his arrival in England; but it was rejected with contumely. Perceiving that his ruin was determined, and being reduced to despair by the impeachment of Oxford and Stafford, and by the attainder and exile of Ormond and Bolingbroke, the indignant Earl retired to the Highlands, and unfurled the standard of rebellion, assuming the title of Lieutenant-General of the Pretender's forces.

Two French vessels in the mean time arrived at Arbroath, with arms, ammunition, and a number of officers; who announced the speedy arrival of the Pretender in person. In England, his partisans were numerous and active; and concerted measures for coöperating with the Scottish malecontents. Mar, at the head of ten thousand men, established

his head-quarters at Perth, and secured the counties north of the Forth. He despatched Brigadier Mackintosh, with two thousand five hundred Highland infantry, to join the Jacobites in the Lothians; while he himself marched to Dunblane, as if intending to cross the Forth at Stirling bridge; but his real design was to divert the Duke of Argyll, who was at the head of a Royal army, from attacking Mackintosh.

Argyll, however, penetrated the design of his adversary; and having secured Edinburgh, he hastened to Stirling to give him battle. The cause of the Pretender soon bore an unpromising aspect. The Earls of Derwentwater, Carnwath, Wintoun, and Nithsdale, with Lord Kenmure and Mr Forster, effected a junction of their forces with the troops under Mackintosh. Had they acted in concert, and concentrated their operations, agreeably to the counsel of Wintoun, who proposed that they should march into Argyllshire, where General Gordon commanded a strong body of Highlanders, it is probable that the contest might have been protracted, and that the Jacobites, though eventually worsted, would have secured their lives, estates, and titles. By pursuing a contrary course, they accelerated their ruin.

It was determined, in a council of war, that they should march into England: But the Highlanders refused to march southwards, and deserted in great numbers. The greater part, however, advanced into England as far as Preston. They were soon surrounded by two Royal armies, under Wills and Carpenter, and compelled to surrender at discretion. Alarmed at the unskilful movement of his partisans, Mar hastened to correct their error; and, being pressed by General Gordon, he determined to cross the Forth, and to join his allies in the South.

With this view, he advanced to Auchterarder. Argyll, apprized of his intention, took measures to arrest his progress, and give him battle in the vicinity of Dunblane. Mar's forces were repulsed, though greatly superior in number: They, indeed, experienced all the consequences of a defeat; for their plans were disconcerted and their operations frustrated. By an ominous coincidence, their defeat happened on the same day that their partisans surrendered at Preston. A train of reverses immediately followed. Lord Lovat secured the important post of Inverness for the Government; by which a free communication was opened with the North, where the Earl of Sutherland was training his vassals to cooperate with the Royalists. The Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the Rebel army, to defend their

own domains; and they in a little time submitted to King George. The Marquis of Tullibardine withdrew likewise to cover his own part of the country; and many of the undisciplined clans, impatient of the tedious operations of the field, returned home.

The Pretender, who had been long amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise as one man in his behalf, was now convinced of the vanity of that expectation: Yet he resolved to make a final effort to retrieve his fortunes in Scotland, before the ardour of his friends in that kingdom should cool. Accordingly, in the middle of winter, he embarked with six gentlemen on board a small vessel at Dunkirk, and landed at Peterhead; whence he set out for Scone.

He there wasted the hour of action in unnecessary parade; and he issued several proclamations, as if the kingdom had already submitted to his authority. From this delirium he was roused by the formidable preparations and approach of the Royalists. Destitute of money, arms, ammunition, and provisions, he determined to abandon an enterprise that had been inconsiderately begun. Accompanied by about seventeen noblemen and gentlemen, he embarked on board a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose, and sailed for France. General Gordon, whom he had appointed commander in chief of his forces, conducted them with skill and activity, though closely pursued by Argyll, to the hills of Badenoch; where they were disbanded.

Such was the issue of a rebellion planned without wisdom and conducted with indiscretion, but which proved fatal to many noble families. Sentence of death was pronounced against Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Kenmure, and Wintoun. Nithsdale effected his escape by a stratagem. A commis- A. D. } sion for trying the rebels was issued;* when bills of 1718. } high treason were found against Forster and Mackintosh, and twenty of their coadjutors. A considerable number of the common men perished on the scaffold at Preston and Manchester; about a thousand more submitted to the King's mercy, and petitioned to be transported to the plantations.

* Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer sat at Perth, Dundee, in Fife, and at Kelso, to take cognizance of the treasons of 1715. Lawyers were sent from London, to assist at these trials: But, notwithstanding the influence of the judges and the artifices of the lawyers, the firmness of the grand juries negatived the bills of indictment, as Justice had had her sacrifices.

A plan of invasion and insurrection in favour of the Stuarts was formed in 1719. In that year, Spain declared war against England; acknowledged the Pretender as King of Great Britain; and equipped a fleet of ten sail of the line, with several frigates, having on board six thousand troops and twelve thousand stand of arms, which sailed from Cadiz for England; but this armament was dispersed* by a violent storm off Cape Finisterre. Meanwhile, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earls of Seaforth and Marischal, with several others attainted in the late rebellion, landed in the isle of Lewis. The Earl Marischal brought with him two Spanish frigates, having on board three hundred Spanish soldiers, ammunition, arms, and money.

The Marquis of Tullibardine, who had a commission from the Pretender to assume the chief command in Scotland, passed over from Lewis to the main-land, expecting the arrival of the Spanish armament. As every thing remained quiet in England, and the expected succours from Spain did not arrive, very few Highlanders rose. General Wightman, commander in chief for Scotland, had taken post with some British and Dutch troops at Inverness. Upon receiving information that the Spaniards had landed in the Highlands, and that some Highlanders had joined them, he marched with his troops to give them battle. He attacked them at Glenshiel, between Fort-Augustus and Bernera. The conflict was short and decisive: The Highlanders, favoured by the ground, withdrew to the hills;* the Spaniards laid down their arms, and were made prisoners.

The state of the Highlands attracted the attention of the British Government; but the measures adopted were ineligible and inefficient. The Highlanders remained disaffected to the house of Hanover. A general disarming act was passed; but while its provisions were obeyed by the loyal clans, they were eluded by the greater and by far the more warlike septs, who remained attached to the family of Stuart. These lived under their chiefs in arms; the Lowlanders remained unarmed under their sheriffs and magistrates. Except the standing army, there was no force competent to restrain or oppose the Highlanders; and a declaration of war with France or Spain, which required the service

* The renowned Rob Roy, at the head of a party of Macgregors, was in this engagement. At the battle of Sheriffmuir, he remained an inactive spectator,—from a disinclination to offend his patron the Duke of Argyll.

of the regular troops abroad, was a signal, and afforded an opportunity, for a rebellion at home. Though the arts of peace were successfully cultivated in Britain, and the national wealth was augmented, little civility or wealth reached the Highlands: The chiefs still kept their vassals upon the old establishment; and, always anticipating another insurrection, estimated their consideration by the number of men which they could bring into the field. Macdonald of Keppoch, being asked by some Lowland gentlemen who visited the Highlands in 1740, what was the rent of his estate, replied, that he could bring into the field five hundred men.

A plan for attaching the Highlanders to the British Government, and which, had it been adopted, might have prevented the rebellion in 1745, was proposed by President Forbes. He suggested, that Government should raise four or five regiments of Highland infantry,—appointing an English or Scottish officer of undoubted loyalty to be colonel of each regiment, and nominating as inferior officers all the disaffected chieftains; who would thus be detached from the interest of the Pretender, and be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home. Sir Robert Walpole laid this plan before the Privy Council; expressing his approbation of its principle in the strongest terms, and recommending its immediate adoption, as there was a prospect of a war with Spain. But the Privy Council unanimously rejected the proposal; alleging that the opposition would exclaim, that the Government was raising an army of Highlanders to join the standing army and enslave the people of England.

The speedy and fortunate suppression of the first rebellion increased the influence of the crown; and the Whig ministry, no longer under any apprehension from the encroachments of arbitrary power, seemed willing to avail themselves of their advantage, and crush their political opponents. On the other hand, the Tories, with some disappointed Whigs who joined them, assumed the popular character of patriots, and obstructed the measures of Government.

They represented that the interests of the nation were sacrificed to a pusillanimous policy; that the treasures of the kingdom were squandered in German subsidies to maintain a foreigner upon the throne, to the exclusion of the lineal heir. But when, upon the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, the Tories were called into office, and the greatest reformation in every department of government was expected, they not only rejected every popular motion, but imitated

their predecessors in flattering the predilections of their sovereign for the Continental system. The discontents occasioned by their unpopular measures, concurred, with the causes already noticed, to encourage the Jacobites to renew their intrigues with the Pretender at the court of France, for the purpose of attempting another insurrection. The disarming acts of 1716 and 1725, with other irritating causes, contributed to keep alive among the Highlanders a spirit of disaffection, and encouraged the hopes of the exiled family.

The death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth, in 1740, gave rise to a general war in Europe. In order to furnish employment to the British Government at home, the French ministry concerted a plan of invasion in favour of the Pretender. In the beginning of the year 1744, transports were collected at Dunkirk, for an army of fifteen thousand men, to be under the command of Marshal Saxe; who, with Prince Charles Edward, the Pretender's son, arrived at that place in February: But while the embarkation of the troops was going on, a storm arose which wrecked a number of the transports. Had this expedition reached the shores of Britain, the whole of the disaffected Highlanders—who were able to bring to the field twelve thousand men—were prepared to rise. The chiefs were then all united; which, for various reasons, they were not when the rebellion actually took place.

Impatient at the delays of the court of France in seconding his views, the young Pretender proposed to repair to Scotland, even without assistance from France; contrary to the wishes of his Jacobite friends. The disasters of the British at Fontenoy determined him to make an attempt on a country in which he knew he had many friends, and no formidable enemies but the regular troops; of which there were few in the island.

THE REBELLION IN 1745.

The young Pretender embarked at Belleisle, in July, on board a small vessel of sixteen guns, escorted by the Elizabeth, a ship of sixty guns. Both these vessels were equipped by some of the Prince's friends; who were, however, subsequently indemnified by the court of France. For the conquest of the British empire, the Pretender had provided

nine hundred stand of arms, about four thousand pounds Sterling, with seven attendants, who possessed little knowledge of military affairs. The expedition was destined for the West Highlands of Scotland. During the voyage, the Elizabeth was attacked by an English ship of war, nearly of the same force. An obstinate engagement ensued; and both ships were so greatly disabled, that they were obliged to consult their safety by endeavouring to gain some port without delay. The Pretender continued his voyage, and landed at Loch Sunart. He was soon joined by Cameron of Lochiel, Macdonald of Clanronald, with their vassals, the Stuarts of Appin, the Macdonalds of Keppoch, Glengary, and Glenco.

The inadequacy of the Pretender's means did not escape the observation of the Highlanders; but his immediate attendants had the address, by insinuation and flattery, to persuade them that his friends were numerous, powerful, and faithful, and needed not the aid of foreign troops. These expectations were disappointed. The heads of many clans that had supported the claim of the Stuarts in the last rebellion, were subsequently allured by interest to assist the house of Hanover, or detached from the Pretender's cause by cool reflection on the inexpedience and danger of arming against the established government. The Mackenzies, the Macleods, the Campbells, the Munroes, and many of the Macdonalds, with other Protestant clans, were zealously attached to the reigning family.

The Marquis of Tullibardine unfurled the Prince's standard at Glenfinnan. It was made of white, blue, and red silk; and, when displayed, appeared about twice the size of a regimental standard. At this ceremony the Marquis was supported by a man on each side, and held the staff till the commission of regency and a manifesto were read.

As soon as the Lords of the Regency ascertained that the Prince had arrived, they instructed Sir John Cope, the commander in chief for Scotland, to assemble all the regular troops in that kingdom, and to march against the Rebels without loss of time, in order to crush this enterprise in its birth. Sir John immediately left Stirling with an army of about fourteen hundred infantry and four small cannon, and set out along the Highland road to Fort-Augustus. When he reached Dalnacardoch, a short distance north-west of Blair Atholl, he received intelligence that the Rebels intended to wait for him at a pass in the mountain of Corryarrak, which was full of difficult passes; and where, by breaking down a bridge over a deep hollow, and posting small bodies

of Highlanders in different places, the enemy could keep up a destructive fire upon him if he attempted to pass. It was therefore unanimously resolved, in a council of war, to march to Inverness; as the road over Corryarrak was impracticable, without exposing the troops to be cut in pieces.

When Charles learned, by a deserter, the General's determination, he descended from the hills with his intrepid Highlanders, and took possession of Dunkeld, Perth, and Dundee; proclaiming his father king of Great Britain, and seizing the public money for his use. His object was to obtain possession of Edinburgh before Sir John's return from the North. Charles was joined on his march by the Viscount Strathallan, Lord Nairn, Lord George Murray the Duke of Atholl's brother, and the Duke of Perth. After reviewing his forces, which amounted to three thousand men, he crossed the Forth, a little above Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, which had been left unprotected. There all was confusion, irresolution, and consternation. A feeble attempt was made to raise a regiment of volunteers to protect the city: But two regiments of dragoons, which had been expected to coöperate with the citizens, retired with precipitation upon the approach of the Highlanders; and their example was contagious: The citizens, panic-struck, conveyed their most valuable effects, with the treasure of the two banks, into the castle, and implored the magistrates to capitulate rather than expose the unarmed multitude to the fury of the Highlanders, who threatened to storm the city if a proffered capitulation should be rejected. To avert the dangerous consequences of an assault, the magistrates sent a deputation to the Prince, with the view of procrastinating rather than of acceding to the proposed terms: But the Prince being inflexible, the deputies returned; and while the carriage that conveyed them passed towards the Canongate through the Netherbow, Cameron of Lochiel, at the head of eight hundred Highlanders, rushed into the city and took possession of it. The remainder of the Rebel army, to avoid the fire of the castle, encamped in the hollow below Arthur's Seat; and Charles occupied Holyroodhouse, the palace of his ancestors.

The ceremony of proclaiming his father at the cross of Edinburgh was performed; and three manifestoes or proclamations were issued, asserting his father's right to the crown, declaiming against the union, and promising a speedy redress of all grievances, with the repeal of every oppressive tax. In a similar strain, Charles was proclaimed regent during his

father's absence; in virtue of whose authority he assumed the government.

Meantime, Sir John Cope, finding it dangerous to return from Inverness by the Highland road, on account of the approach of winter, marched his troops along the coast to Aberdeen, and thence conveyed them by sea to Dunbar; where he was joined by the two regiments of fugitive dragoons, and marched towards Edinburgh. When the Highlanders were apprized of Sir John's approach, they determined, in a council of war, to advance and give him battle without delay, as a great number of the Prince's friends only waited the event to declare themselves in his favour.

General Cope chose his position with great skill. He had on his right two enclosures surrounded by high stone walls, between which extended the highway leading to Prestonpans; on his left was a marsh; he had the sea in the rear, and a deep and very broad ditch in front. When the Highlanders, after a circuitous march, came in sight of the enemy, they were greatly disconcerted by the obstacles which presented themselves. They spent the afternoon in reconnoitering, without coming to any determination. From this disagreeable state of perplexity and suspense, they were relieved by the discovery of a secret and unguarded path through the marsh; by which their whole army passed in files before morning, and formed on the other side in order of battle, within two hundred yards of the enemy.

At break of day, Sir John Cope was apprized of the enemy's approach. Lord George Murray, who commanded the front line of the Highlanders, did not give the English time to recover from their surprise; but advanced with such rapidity, that General Cope had scarcely time to form his troops in order of battle when the Highlanders rushed upon them sword in hand. Emotions seldom known to English soldiers were felt by the Royalists when the foe poured on them like the mountain-torrent. Agreeably to repeated orders, the Highlanders, in attacking the cavalry, cut the horses' noses with their swords, disregarding the riders. The cavalry were thus instantly thrown into confusion. A company of Macgregors, of the Duke of Perth's Regiment, for want of better arms, were provided with sithes fastened to poles seven or eight feet long. With these dreadful weapons, they made great havock: They cut the legs of the horses in two, and the riders through the middle of their bodies. The flight of the cavalry having left their infantry unprotected, the Highlanders instantly fell on their flanks;

which, in a few minutes, were put to flight. A horrible scene succeeded: The field of battle was in a short time covered with mutilated bodies, heads, legs, and arms; for the slain fell chiefly by the sword. In a few minutes after the commencement of the engagement, the Highlanders gained a complete victory, with a terrible carnage on the part of the enemy. Though the second line, in which was the Prince, was not more than fifty paces behind the front line, so very rapid, destructive, and decisive was the movement of the van, that the rear, though advancing at a quick pace, and near enough never to lose sight of their companions, could not advance in sufficient time to take part in the conflict. The contending armies were nearly equal in number, being about two thousand each. The Royalists were nearly annihilated. Their military chest, their cannon, colours, camp-equipage, and baggage, fell into the hands of the Rebels; who lost not above fifty men.

It was in this action that the brave and amiable Colonel Gardiner fell. He was a veteran officer, having served under the Duke of Marlborough. Though abandoned by his regiment of dragoons, he disdained to save his life at the expense of his honour. Alighting from his horse, he joined the infantry, and fought until he fell covered with wounds in sight of his own threshold.

Charles remained on the field of battle till noon, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, and for the disposal of his prisoners. Every appearance of moderation and humanity was preserved. He returned next day to Edinburgh; where he was received by the populace with acclamations. This was the crisis of the Prince's fate. Had he taken advantage of the consternation occasioned by the defeat of General Cope, and marched into England before the Government could recall their troops from Flanders or obtain foreign aid, it is conjectured he might have accomplished the great object of his ambition. Elated with his success, he loitered at Edinburgh, soliciting the countenance and aid of the lukewarm Highland chiefs who had not declared themselves, until the ardour of his followers was diminished by social indulgence, and their courage abated in unavailing efforts to reduce the castle.

The victory at Preston inflamed the hopes of his partisans, and confirmed many in the resolution of declaring openly in his cause who had hitherto been wavering. Of this number, were the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lords Balmerino, Pitsligo, Ogilvy, and Elcho, with Lord Lovat's eldest son, who re-

sorted to his standard. It was there determined, contrary to the opinion of many of the Highland chiefs, that their army, thus augmented to five thousand men, should make an irruption into England.

On the 6th of November, the Highland army entered England by the Western Border; and, having reduced Carlisle, advanced by Preston, Manchester, Macclesfield, and Congleton, to Derby, within one hundred miles of London, without any serious interruption. The whole kingdom was filled with consternation at their progress; and it was believed that they might penetrate to the capital, should they proceed directly forward.

Irresolution and discord, with other ominous circumstances, began to appear among the Rebel officers; the majority of whom were for retracing their steps to Scotland; though the Prince, the Duke of Perth, and Cameron of Lochiel, were for advancing to London at whatever hazard. Had they advanced, their numerical inferiority presented a physical impossibility against the hope of a successful result; as several Royal armies were collecting around them, which they must have engaged. A retreat was therefore preferred; which was conducted, under adverse circumstances, with intrepidity, expedition, and good order.

Though serious obstacles were thrown in their way, the Highlanders retreated to Preston without the loss of a man. At Clifton, near Preston, their rear-guard was attacked by a detachment of four thousand men, under the Duke of Cumberland. A short but obstinate conflict relieved the Highlanders of any farther molestation; and having garrisoned Carlisle, they retired into Scotland. During their expedition, they lost only fifty men, by fatigue, sickness, and the sword of the enemy.

If the failure of this expedition into England abated the ardour of some of his more sanguine followers, the Prince's rapid advance and gallant retreat reflected new lustre on his arms. Proceeding in three divisions, by different routes, towards Glasgow, they reunited; and, after extorting heavy contributions from that city, they advanced to Stirling with the intention of besieging the castle. There Lord Lewis, brother of the Duke of Gordon, Lord John Drummond, brother of the Duke of Perth, and Lord Strathallan, joined the Prince with a motley group of Highland, Irish, and French troops. The Highland army thus augmented, amounted to nine thousand men, the greatest force that Charles ever had under his command. Great exertions were making on the

north and west of the Tay, where many of the people were Catholics or Nonjurors, to reinforce the Prince. But there were many in the same quarter sincerely attached to the reigning family. Duncan Forbes of Culloden, President of the Court of Session, a gentleman of great talents, and universally respected, distinguished himself by his exertions. To him we are deeply indebted for the preservation of our excellent constitution; for he confirmed in their allegiance several chieftains whose fidelity had been doubtful; many others he persuaded to remain inactive. With so much prudence and effect did he conduct his measures, that he prevented, as is supposed, the insurrection of ten thousand Highlanders. His patriotism was not very gratefully requited by the Government,—owing, as is supposed, to his uncourtly remonstrances against the cruelties of the Royal army under the Duke of Cumberland after the battle of Culloden.

The President was warmly supported by the Earls of Loudon and Sutherland, and Lord Rae, whose forces garrisoned Inverness, and overawed the surrounding country. In the Midland and Southern counties, the people were generally loyal; among them "kirk and kingdom" was the prevailing cry.

It was in the North, therefore, that Charles expected to maintain his ground. Though many of the English nobility had warmly invited him to Britain, and a powerful party had promised to join him there, they disappointed him, and abandoned their engagements. The Highlanders evinced a more devoted attachment. Old Lord Lovat, an artful and temporizing chief, sent the *fiery cross* round his estate. A thousand Frasers were instantly levied; one party of whom invested Fort-Augustus, the remainder joined the Prince's army. The garrison was relieved by the Earl of Loudon; but this success was counterbalanced by the defeat of the Macleods and Munros at Inverury, by which the Highlanders obtained the undisputed command of all the open country between the Forth and the Spey.

Stirling castle had been garrisoned and placed under the command of General Blackeney, an officer of experience. This fortress commanded the communication between the Northern and Southern parts of the kingdom: To obtain it, was therefore an object of considerable importance to Charles; who speedily gained possession of the town of Stirling; but the castle baffled his efforts. Though no serious alarm ought to have been occasioned by the untu-

tored valour of the Highlanders against a regular fortification, yet was General Hawley despatched with an army of about ten thousand men to raise the siege and disperse the enemy before farther reinforcements should arrive. The General advanced to Falkirk with sufficient confidence. He had been heard to say, in a company of military officers in Flanders, that "the Highlanders were good militia; but he was certain that they could not stand against a charge of dragoons." The Highlanders, consisting of eight thousand five hundred men, upon being informed of Hawley's approach, advanced by a circuitous route, to gain the advantage of the ground, and give the enemy battle. They succeeded in their design. About two o'clock (17th January), when they had gained the high ground, they were attacked by three regiments of dragoons, who were ordered to advance and cut them to pieces. Lord George Murray, who commanded the front line of the Highlanders, allowed the dragoons to come within ten or twelve paces of them, when he gave orders to fire. About eighty of the assailants instantly fell. The cavalry, closing their ranks, put spurs to their horses, and advanced upon the Highlanders at a hard trot, breaking a part of their ranks and throwing down every thing before them. A very singular and extraordinary combat ensued: The sprawling Highlanders thrust their dirks into the bellies of the horses; some seized the riders by their clothes, dragged them down, and stabbed them; others used their pistols, but few had sufficient space to handle their swords.*

The resistance of the hardy mountaineers was so incredibly obstinate, that the cavalry, after having been some time engaged pell-mell with them in their ranks, were repulsed and forced to retire. Availing themselves of their advantage, the Highlanders keenly pursued the fugitive dragoons; who, falling back on their own infantry, threw them into disorder, and carried the right wing of their army with them in their flight. The right wing of the Royal army, consisting of in-

* The Highlanders' mode of fighting was peculiar, and well adapted for brave but undisciplined men. They advanced with rapidity; discharged their pieces when within musket-length of the enemy; and then, throwing them down, drew their swords. Holding a dirk in their left hand with their target, they darted with fury on the enemy through the smoke of their fire. When within reach of the enemy's bayonets, which they contrived to parry, they in the same instant raised their sword-arm, and struck their adversary. Having got within the bayonets, the fate of the battle was at once decided; the Highlanders bringing down two men at a time, one with the dirk and another with the sword. Their attack was so terrible, that if the Highlanders' swords once came in contact with the best troops in Europe, their defeat was inevitable.

fantry, though staggered, retired in more regular order, and served as a rear-guard to their panic-struck companions, firing in platoons till they reached the town of Falkirk. The Highlanders themselves, by their irregular movements, were thrown into disorder; and the obscurity of the night, with a storm of wind and rain, greatly added to their confusion. About midnight, their scattered divisions were apprized of their success, and that Charles was at Falkirk, whither they were directed to repair without delay. The Royal army fled towards Edinburgh; having lost five hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Their camp, baggage, and part of their artillery, were taken. In their flight, the English soldiers had dispersed so much up and down the fields, that, five days after the battle, four thousand men could scarcely be assembled at Edinburgh.

Hitherto, fortune seems to have blindly favoured the Highlanders; but now, a series of errors commenced, which terminated in their overthrow. Instead of pursuing and dispersing the wreck of the vanquished enemy, and availing themselves of the consternation which prevailed in the kingdom,—or instead of marching to Inverness, where he might have doubled the number of his army, disarmed and crushed the Royalists, and made himself master of the North of Scotland,—Charles returned to Bannockburn, to prosecute the siege of Stirling castle. In this project, which he deemed paramount to every other, his attention was absorbed. But his operations were ill-conducted and ineffective; many of the Highlanders deserted his army to secure their booty; the battery erected to reduce the castle was soon destroyed; the Royal army, being again collected and augmented, was put in motion under the command of the Duke of Cumberland; and the Prince had the mortification to find the Highland chiefs unanimous in their determination to make a retrograde movement towards their native country.

The Highland army commenced their retreat from Stirling to Inverness on the last day of January; and advanced to Crieff. Thence they marched in two columns,—one of which, conducted by Lord George Murray, passed along the sea-coast, through the towns of Perth, Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, and Peterhead; the other column, commanded by Charles, went straight across the mountains by Blair Atholl, being the shortest road to Inverness.

Lord Loudon, with two thousand Royal troops, being in possession of Inverness, Charles deemed it inexpedient to attack them before the other column should arrive. Mean-

time, his troops captured and demolished Fort-Augustus, and made the garrison prisoners of war. They then retreated to the mountains in several divisions, which they could concentrate on any emergency. Charles, with a very few guards, took up his quarters at Moy, the seat of the chief of the clan of Macintosh; which is about ten miles from Inverness.

There the Prince was nearly captured by a stratagem. Lord Loudon formed the project of seizing his person by surprise. With this view, he left Inverness on the evening of the 16th February, at the head of fifteen hundred men, and advanced towards Moy. Lady Macintosh was apprized of the design against her Royal guest, just in time to warn him of his danger. He immediately fled to the neighbouring mountains in his night dress; where he remained till next morning. The Royal troops were within three miles of Moy, when they were surprised on a sudden by a fire of musketry, with a confused clamour of "Macdonald! Cameron! Lochiel! Keppoch! Here come the villains who intend carrying off our Prince: Fire, my lads; do not spare them; give no quarter!" In a moment, the detachment took to their heels, and fled in the greatest disorder,—imagining that the whole Highland army was lying in wait for them. The panic continued till the fugitives reached Inverness; when they learned that the terrible enemy they had encountered was the blacksmith of Moy; who, with twelve associates, had engaged to make Lord Loudon's troops retreat faster than they had advanced. The affair was humorously called the rout of Moy.

Next morning, Charles assembled all his column, and advanced to Inverness; but, as he approached, Lord Loudon retreated to Ross-shire. Having reduced the forts in the neighbourhood, and knowing that they had nothing to fear from the Duke of Cumberland's army for some time, the Highlanders projected a number of expeditions, attacks, and sieges; the greater part of which they executed. General Stapleton, with a detachment, invested Fort-William; Lord Cromarty, reinforced by the Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray, compelled Lord Loudon to cross the Frith of Tain to Sutherland.

Lord George returned to Inverness, and immediately proceeded to Atholl, to surprise the posts of the Royal army in that district; and so expertly was his plan executed, that thirty posts were carried in one morning. On the 19th March, the whole Highland army formed a junction at In-

verness. A considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, with a sum of money, had been received from France and Spain.

The Duke of Cumberland, meanwhile, advanced to Aberdeen; where he continued during the severity of winter, inuring his troops to discipline and hardships. In the beginning of April, he began his march for Inverness; where he learned that the Highlanders had fixed their head-quarters. He forded the river Spey without opposition; which the unwary Prince ought, had he been able, to have prevented; and advanced to Nairn. There he was informed that the Highlanders had proceeded to Culloden Moor, five miles south-east of Inverness, with the intention of offering battle.

At this critical time, the Rebel army was much dispersed: The detachment which had besieged Fort-William was not returned; a numerous party was in Sutherland; other parties were scattered in various directions. The absence of so many men was perfectly well known in the army. It appeared strange, therefore, that Charles should make a movement in advance, which carried him from his detachments of which he stood so much in need. It was more from false notions of military honour than from well-founded hopes of success that Charles and his officers determined to risk an engagement. They were well aware that the Royal army was more numerous, better disciplined, and well provided with ammunition, artillery, equipments, and stores. Desperate courage indeed the Highlanders possessed, and they excelled in daring stratagem.

On the 15th April, the Highlanders being considerably reinforced, were drawn up in order of battle upon a moor a mile and a half south-east of Culloden House; where they expected to engage the Royal army. As the latter did not appear, Charles proposed to his council of officers to make a night attack upon the enemy at Nairn; whose superiority in horse and cannon would be then of no avail. Though this proposal was disrelished by the majority of the council, it was finally determined to make the attempt.

The Highland army marched from Culloden in a thin extended column, with an interval in the middle. Lord George Murray marched at the head of the column; Charles, with the Duke of Perth, and a number of officers, advanced in the central interval. Soon after they began their march, it grew very dark: To prevent alarm, they proceeded by unfrequented paths. These being over marshy ground, retarded the

progress of the rear so much, that, by two in the morning, Lord George Murray, suspecting that their design was discovered, and that it would be impossible to make an attack before break of day, ordered a retreat. Surprised and indignant, Charles exclaimed that he was betrayed. The army reached Culloden about seven in the morning, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, and enraged at having performed nothing.

Information was received by the Duke of Cumberland, of the enemy's intention, from spies dressed in the Highland garb, and who occasionally mixed with them as they advanced. What the result would have been, had the meditated attack been executed, it is difficult to conjecture; although it is highly probable, from the Royal army's being on the alert, that had the Highlanders made the attack, it must have been to them a hard if not a disastrous contest.

The Duke of Cumberland left Nairn early in the morning of the 16th April, and came in sight of his enemies at noon. The latter were drawn up in thirteen divisions, disposed into two lines: The Prince's standard was displayed in the front line; twelve pieces of cannon were disposed before the centre and on each wing; Charles was stationed on an eminence in the rear of the second line, surrounded by a party of horse; a high wall covered the right flank of the army.

Observing that the Rebels had taken their ground to give him battle, the Duke of Cumberland ordered his troops to halt; and, forming his columns into two lines flanked with horse, and having a strong body of reserve, advanced towards the enemy. Instructed by their disasters at Prestonpans and Falkirk, the Royal army made excellent dispositions for resisting the impetuous onset of the Highlanders. The latter, being galled by a destructive fire of artillery, and impatient of standing inactive, rushed forward with their usual impetuosity, brandishing their broad-swords. They were received very coolly upon the point of the bayonet, and mowed down by a dreadful fire of musketry and grape-shot. The right wing of the assailants, however, pushed furiously forward, and broke through the left wing of the Royalists. The attack was made with the greatest courage, order, and bravery. They ran in upon the points of the bayonets, hewed down the soldiers with their broad-swords, drove them back, put them into disorder, and captured two pieces of cannon. The Highlanders' left wing did not sustain them in the attack; hence they were arrested in their career, by the cool and resolute conduct of the Duke's se-

cond line; which presented an impervious front of bayonets, and opened a tremendous fire.

The Highlanders retired in confusion. The remainder of their army likewise commenced a precipitate retreat. The same troops that had advanced to the charge like lions, were in an instant seen flying like trembling cowards. Among the first who fled from the field of battle, was Charles himself; and even when entreated to return and rally his troops, his courage and resolution failed him. The Royal army advanced in pursuit: A horrible carnage ensued. The Western Highlanders united in a body, and marched towards Badenoch; another smaller body retired to Inverness, where they surrendered themselves. But the small straggling parties which fled in every direction were barbarously slaughtered. At the commencement of the action, the Royal army amounted to eight thousand: They lost, in killed and wounded, three hundred. The Highlanders were five thousand strong. No regular account was ever published by them of their loss in this battle: It probably amounted to fifteen hundred or two thousand in killed and wounded.

It is painful to reflect on the barbarities of the Royal troops after their victory. The wounded Highlanders were allowed to remain on the field without assistance, stript of their clothes, and exposed to torrents of rain for two days. What befel them *then*, is too shocking to be related. A barn, which contained a party of wounded Highlanders, was surrounded and set on fire by a detachment of Royalists; who drove back into the flames those who attempted to save themselves.

Immediately after the battle, the Royal troops entered the Rebels' country. Villages and cottages were plundered and burned; the cattle and provisions were driven away or destroyed; the wretched inhabitants were indiscriminately ejected or murdered; those who escaped were left a prey to famine and cold on the barren heath. The Royal troops continued to do military execution till they received an intimation from the Court of Session that they were acting against law.

Some hours after the battle, Lord Elcho found the Prince in a cottage beside the river Nairn, surrounded by his Irish attendants, in a state of complete dejection, without the least hopes of being able to retrieve his misfortunes. Lord Elcho exerted himself to persuade him that his disaster might be repaired, and that he should think only of rallying his army: But the Prince was insensible to every suggestion of that nature, and utterly disregarded the advice.

Without any previous concert, the wreck of the Highland army met at Ruthven, about twelve miles from Inverness, two days after their defeat. To this place, the fugitives were naturally attracted by the secure retreat which it offered; as the road towards it was very narrow, under frightful precipices, and by the bases of mountains where there were several passes which a hundred men could defend against any number, by rolling down rocks from the summits of the mountains.

Lord George Murray immediately secured the passes, and despatched a messenger to the Prince, with the intelligence that a great part of his army was assembled at Ruthven, full of animation, and eager to revenge their late disgrace; and that in a few days the Highland army would be more numerous than before the battle. Two days elapsed before Charles returned the mortifying answer, "Let every man seek his safety in the best way he can." The separation of the misguided Highlanders was truly affecting. They bade each other adieu,—uncertain whether their next meeting might not be on the scaffold. They gave vent to their grief in howlings and lamentation, when they reflected on the miseries to which their country would be exposed.

There is a surprising resemblance between the adventures and perils of Charles after his defeat, and the narrow escape of his grand-uncle Charles the Second after the battle of Worcester. After suffering an extraordinary series of hardships in the Highlands and Western Isles, whither he was closely pursued during five months by the Royalists,—after wandering under various disguises in woods and wilds, destitute of the common necessaries of life,—he was taken on board a French privateer, and landed on the coast of Bretagne.

The sword of justice quickly pursued such of his adherents as had escaped the fury of the soldiery or had not fled to the Continent. The Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock, and the Lords Lovat and Balmerino, were tried for high treason, and condemned to be capitally punished. Cromarty alone was pardoned, at the intercession of his lady. Seventeen officers of inferior rank suffered on Kennington Common, near London; fifty-three suffered death in Yorkshire and Cumberland, exulting in being martyrs for the cause they had espoused.

Such was the fatal conclusion of a rebellion, which, from its fortunate commencement, promised a very different issue. What would have been the result upon the happiness and

prosperity of these realms, had Charles succeeded in recovering the throne of his ancestors, it is hard to determine. But it is highly probable, from a retrospective view of the history of Great Britain since the union of the crowns, that the change would have contributed little to the liberty and happiness of these kingdoms.

Much bitter controversy has arisen respecting the motives which induced the Highland chieftains to engage in this unfortunate insurrection. It has been thought impossible to account for their conduct, except by ascribing it to a kind of heroic affectionate loyalty in favour of an exiled and suffering race of kings. That there were a few of the higher chieftains who were actuated by these generous feelings, may be admitted; as well as that their people followed them with regardless devotion: But it is pretty clear, from the *Culloden Papers*, lately published, that many of the disaffected were actuated by selfish principles and personal expectations. Such causes are very natural; but while they imply no particular depravity in the many whom they influenced, they detract not a little from the affectionate devotion to which the attachment to Charles has been often ascribed, and convert this ideal gallantry into ordinary political selfishness and ambition.

The moral character of the great mass of the Highlanders engaged in this unfortunate rebellion was exhibited in a most favourable point of view. Though engaged in a formidable civil war, which roused the strongest passions of human nature, and, though unaccustomed to military discipline, they committed comparatively few acts of violence, and withstood temptations which, to men in their situation, might have appeared irresistible. When they marched into the heart of England, through fertile and rich counties, scarcely any act of violence was heard of; and when the cravings of hunger, from inadequacy of supplies in the North of Scotland, compelled them to forage, they limited their demands by their necessities.

It is to be regretted that their disciplined conquerors did not imitate their moderation and forbearance; and that they sullied their triumphs by inflicting the most wanton cruelty on a defenceless enemy. Afraid of punishment, and unwilling to return home, many of the Highlanders formed themselves into bands of freebooters, frequented the mountains of Atholl, Breadalbane, and Monteith, and exacted contributions from the Lowlanders, who were unable to check their depredations.

To eradicate the seeds of disloyalty, the Government determined to dissolve the patriarchal system in the Highlands. For this purpose, in 1747, the hereditary jurisdictions were purchased or wrested from the heads of clans; the Highlanders were required to surrender their arms under the severest penalties; legislative provision was made for the regular administration of justice, by the King's judges, throughout North Britain; and, by an act of Parliament, persons of all ranks were prohibited from wearing the ancient costume of their country; but this act was repealed soon after, as inexpedient and oppressive.

During a period of three centuries, the royal house of Stuart experienced an uninterrupted series of misfortunes. James the First, after having been a captive in England, was assassinated by his subjects. James the Second was killed in the prime of life, by the accidental bursting of a cannon. The Third James was defeated in battle by his rebellious subjects, headed by his own son, and assassinated; and that son, the amorous and gallant James the Fourth, disappeared at the lost battle of Flodden. James the Fifth died of a broken heart. His beautiful and accomplished daughter, Mary, after enduring the most painful vicissitudes of fortune, was beheaded in England. Her grandson, Charles the First, experienced a similar fate. His second son, James, was expelled the Three Kingdoms by his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, at the instigation of his subjects. James his son and Charles his grandson, ambitious of recovering the throne of their ancestors, occasioned much misery and bloodshed, and ruined many noble families; while they themselves abandoned their enterprises with unbecoming levity, and died in exile.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The civil history of Scotland has long been blended with that of England, in reality and essence, no less than in name. It remains for the compiler of this abridgment, to subjoin a few sketches, illustrative of the national institutions of the Scots—the progress of education and literature—of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; upon which, in all countries, the wealth, strength, and prosperity of the state, and the happiness of individuals, so very greatly depend.

Though the ancient constitution of Scotland was superseded by the union, the courts and laws for the administra-

tion of civil and criminal justice were not only retained, but improved. The judges, no longer the ministers and privy counsellors of the crown, ceased to participate in domestic faction; jurisprudence was cultivated as a regular science; and judgment went forth in equity, with stern indifference to the distinctions of party or of rank.

The civil and canon law constitute the basis of Scottish jurisprudence. Before the union, the laws of Scotland respecting treason were different from those of England. In the reign of Queen Anne, the law of England respecting treason was extended to Scotland. Much advantage has accrued from this change, as the Scottish law was much more sanguinary than the English. A very favourable change was likewise produced by the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions; which, being absolute, were vexatious and oppressive.

The College of Justice, or the Court of Session, is the supreme civil court in Scotland; no appeal lies from it but to the House of Lords. It may be considered as a standing jury; and determines all civil causes, according to the statutes, the customs of the nation, and the civil law. Till the year 1807, it was the custom for all the judges (the president and fourteen ordinary lords) to sit together upon the same bench: But the enormous increase of litigation, chiefly from the extended commerce of the country, occasioned a legislative enactment, by which the Court of Session is divided into two separate divisions, each of which now exercises the full powers formerly vested in the whole body. The Lord President retains his station as president of the first of those divisions, which consists of eight members; and the Lord Justice Clerk is the president of the second division, consisting of seven members.

The highest criminal judicature in Scotland is the Justiciary Court: It consists of the Lord Justice Clerk, who is president, with five other judges, nominated from the Senators of the College of Justice. From this court there is no appeal. The Lords of Justiciary make a circuit twice a year to the different districts of Scotland. All criminal causes before this court are tried by a jury of fifteen persons; whose verdict condemns or acquits by a bare plurality of votes. In 1815, a jury court was established, under a Lord Chief Commissioner and two other commissioners, for the trial of civil causes. This court, though restricted in its operations, and rather expensive, is more expeditious in its decisions than the Court of Session. It is both probable and desirable, that, from the intrinsic excellence of trial by jury, from the sim-

plicity and despatch of that form of procedure, the Legislature will gradually extend to Scotland the advantages of that great bulwark of liberty and justice.

There are several other courts of law. The Exchequer Court; which is invested with powers, privileges, jurisdictions, and authority over the revenue of Scotland. The High Court of Admiralty; in which there is only one judge, who is the King's lieutenant and justice-general upon the seas, and in all ports and harbours: He has a jurisdiction in all maritime causes; and by prescription he has acquired a jurisdiction in mercantile causes not maritime. His decisions in civil and criminal causes is subject, however, to the review of the Courts of Session and Justiciary respectively. The Commissary Court has an original jurisdiction in questions of marriage and divorce; it sanctions the appointment of executors, and takes cognizance of actions of scandal. The College or Faculty of Advocates answers to the English inns of court. Its members are celebrated everywhere, not only for professional talents, but also for high literary attainments. The writers or clerks to his Majesty's signet possess the exclusive privilege of writing summonses and other writs which pass in the King's name. There are 21 judges of the Supreme Courts; 351 advocates; 475 writers to the signet; 30 clerks and other officers; 89 solicitors; and 77 agents, or advocates' first clerks.

There is in every county a chief magistrate or Sheriff, whose authority extends to certain criminal causes, as well as to civil suits.

A temporary act was passed in 1795, for the expeditious recovery of small debts. In 1800, that act was rendered perpetual, under certain regulations, by which two Justices of the Peace may determine causes for sums not exceeding 5*l.* Sterling.

ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The Presbyterian church, so conspicuous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was established in Scotland, by act of Parliament, in 1696; and it was afterwards secured in the treaty of union. It has since undergone little change. Before the expulsion of the Stuarts from the throne of Britain, the influence of the civil power in ecclesiastical affairs was uncontrolled: It converted the clergy into the instruments of faction, and fomented the worst passions.

At the Revolution, this prolific source of evil was removed: The clergy were restricted to their parochial duties, and to the preservation of the polity to which they owe their existence. Religious toleration, venerated by the Prince of Orange, was happily diffused, and the arm of persecution restrained. The rights of patronage were restored during the last years of Queen Anne. A public toleration was granted to Episcopal ministers using the liturgy and accepting the Government oaths. The same oaths were likewise imposed upon the Presbyterian clergy, with an implied acknowledgment that the successor to the crown must be of the Episcopal communion; which, it has been supposed, was artfully designed to supplant the Presbyterian church government.

The national system of religion in Scotland is simple in its forms, admitting of no outward splendour or ceremony, nor any of those aids to devotion which are supposed to be derived from painting and music. There are in Scotland eight hundred and ninety-nine parishes, and nine hundred and thirty-eight established clergymen, who discharge their pastoral duties in their respective parishes. They are assisted in the management of the temporal concerns of the poor, and occasionally in their sacerdotal duties, by auxiliaries named elders; who are generally nominated by the clergyman, and selected from the congregation for their intelligence and moral propriety. The minister and the elders constitute the Kirk-Session, which is the lowest ecclesiastical judicature in Scotland.

As the Presbyterian system is founded on a parity of ecclesiastical authority among all its presbyters, excluding all prëeminence of order, they hold equal rank and power. They are, however, amenable to the Presbytery; which consists of the ministers of several contiguous parishes, who meet generally every month, and who take cognizance of all ecclesiastical matters within their district. Synods form the next gradation in the scale of ecclesiastical judicature: They are composed of delegates from the different presbyteries; they are courts of appeal, and review the proceedings of the inferior ecclesiastical courts.

But the greatest ecclesiastical court is the General Assembly; which meets annually at Edinburgh, and in which the King is represented by a deputy or Commissioner, who presides. The General Assembly is a representative body, consisting of delegates from presbyteries, universities, and royal boroughs, in the following proportions: Two hundred

clergymen, with eighty-nine elders, represent the presbyteries; sixty-seven elders the royal boroughs; and five ministers or elders the universities. The Assembly finally decides in all appeals from the inferior courts.

As a body, the Scottish clergy are men of liberal and enlightened minds and of exemplary lives; but the religious fervour of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is considerably abated. Placed among an intelligent people, and in a great measure beyond the influence of those causes which have propagated persecution in the world, they have little temptation to assume a bigoted spirit in order to court popularity, and few objects of ambition to seduce them from the pursuits of peace. The smallest stipend of a Scottish clergyman is 150*l.*; but, in general, the stipends are considerably greater. They are paid out of the rents of lands or teinds, a portion of the rent which was appropriated for the support of the church previous to the Reformation, and is now possessed by the modern proprietors as a fund for the support of the clergy. To the Court of Session belongs the power of fixing the value of the teinds or tithes; and the clergy are in the habit therefore of applying to that court for an augmentation of their stipends.

During the last fifty years, the mode of pulpit instruction, which, with little modification, had previously existed since the Reformation, has been gradually superseded. The early Presbyterians were warm and violent in their manner of delivery: They addressed the imagination and the passions of their hearers; they were less studious to instruct by accurate reasoning, or to edify by practical induction, than to elucidate the peculiar doctrines of the gospel and to inculcate their practical results. The cultivation of literature introduced a more extensive field for public discussion: Metaphysical dissertations and moral harangues were substituted for biblical instruction: But though these were elegantly composed, and gained the approbation of cultivated minds, they were too refined to reach a common understanding. Hence, the extremes to which the two different classes of religious instructors verged, induced a very discernible mutual repulsion. Whilst the animated and incoherent declamations of the one were a subject of ridicule to the sceptical and profane, the suspicious and lukewarm conduct of the other, in the cautious use or total rejection of scriptural doctrines, was a serious ground of alarm.

Besides the ecclesiastical polity established by law, there are numerous bodies of dissenters of different denominations.

The most popular are Episcopalians and Seceders. The latter were divided for many years into Burghers and Anti-burghers: They are now, however, reunited, under the title of the United Secession. Other religious denominations are, Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, Bereans, Unitarians, and Glasites. There are small bodies of Catholics dispersed over the country, especially in the Northern parts, where that religion was not entirely superseded by the Reformation.

For a considerable period after that event, the settlement of Presbyterian clergymen in the Highlands was very difficult and precarious. The caprice or mistaken zeal of the parishioners often resisted their settlement, particularly in the Highland districts, where the Romish persuasion long struggled for predominance.

THE PROGRESS AND STATE OF EDUCATION.

In whatever light we view education, it cannot fail to appear the most important subject that can engage the attention of mankind. Our individual enjoyments and our national prosperity, our freedom and our loyalty, our peace and our plenty, our comforts and our renown, all obviously depend upon the rank we hold as moral beings; and that rank is essentially affected by the means of instruction. So great and so obvious is the influence of education in the development and direction of our moral and intellectual faculties, that many ingenious authors have ascribed to this cause alone all the varieties of human character.

That there is a marked original difference in the faculties of the mind, is undeniable; but it is nothing in comparison of what is formed by education. The intimate connexion between our physical and mental powers, and their mutual dependence, will make it impossible for the most attentive culture to render human beings exactly alike. But though the influence of nature in diversifying the characters of men be great, the influence of education is still more remarkable. The powers of the mind are the gift of nature; to education we are indebted for their exercise, their direction, and their enlargement. Nature implants our affections; instruction cultivates, invigorates, and refines them.

Among all classes of society, a proper education is the only permanent source of good conduct; and it is now pretty generally understood, that national happiness and prosperity

depend, more than on any other cause, on the diffusion of instruction among all orders of the people. Ignorance is the parent of depravity; and most of the vices which degrade the character, particularly of the lowest class of the community, may be traced to the want of knowledge.

We are proud in having to appeal to our own country for a proof of the influence of general instruction in raising the national character. Since the establishment of parochial schools in Scotland, the people have been distinguished for their honesty, sobriety, and decency; and there is perhaps no country in Europe in which, in proportion to its population, so small a number of crimes fall under the chastisement of the criminal laws as in Scotland. The diffusion of knowledge is therefore justly deemed the most effectual means of civilizing a nation. The government itself is materially affected by it; and thence the happiness of the people. In China, the largest and most populous empire of the world, none but men who have undergone a literary probation are admitted to share its administration; and, notwithstanding its unwieldy greatness, universal tranquillity prevails, for all its measures are mild and paternal.

At the same time, it must be admitted, that the character and manners of the inhabitants of every country depend much on the nature of its government. In Denmark, the means of education are placed within the reach of the poorest classes. Besides numerous private and charitable institutions for this purpose, every parish is provided with one or two schools where children are instructed in the elements of useful knowledge. Yet the peasantry are a poor, mean-spirited, dastardly race, totally degenerated from the warlike dispositions of their ancestors,—equally addicted to fraud themselves and suspicious of it in others. This unfavourable change in the Danish character is generally ascribed to the revolution which happened in 1660, which converted their free government into a despotic monarchy.

The marked resemblance between the character of the Scots and of the Swiss, arises in a great measure from the similarity of their institutions for the instruction of youth, and from the liberality and mildness of their respective governments. In the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, the peasantry have the advantages of schools similar to the parochial schools in Scotland, though established and endowed in a different manner. This is also the case in some districts in England,—in the northern parts of Yorkshire, in Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland; where the peasantry

approximate, in regard to intelligence and moral propriety, to the national character of the Scots.

The comparative state of comfort in which we behold the great mass of the Scottish peasantry, and their superior tone of character, must be attributed not only to the diffusion of education, but also to the influence of religious principle, which has imparted to them a considerable degree of sincerity with a general refinement and elevation of mind.

So early as the reign of David the First, schools seem to have existed in the principal towns of Scotland. Even during the darkest ages, there were schools in which the Latin language was taught. These, it is probable, were attached to monasteries; for it was long a practice among the Scottish barons to board their children for education with the monks,—who, ambitious to engross the education of youth, obtained grants of the principal seminaries. These institutions afforded the means of instruction in the Latin tongue; the knowledge of which, in some degree, was requisite for enabling the clergy to perform the religious service.

The degeneracy of the regular clergy occasioned the establishment of grammar-schools in the principal towns, which were taught by laymen. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, the schools of Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, Dunbarton, Killearn, and Haddington, were in high repute, and some of them numerously attended. The school of Perth, at a period somewhat later, was attended at one time by three hundred boys, including sons of the nobility and gentry.

Besides the grammar-schools, in which the youth destined for the university were prepared, there were also "lecture-schools," as they were called, in which children were instructed to read the vernacular language. The Reformation gave a strong impulse to the dissemination of knowledge: The means of education were extended more generally; and where regular schools were not founded, the readers in churches frequently supplied the deficiency, by teaching young persons to read the Catechism and the Scriptures.

Before there was any law rendering it imperious on the heritors or parishioners to provide salaries and suitable accommodations for the inferior order of seminaries, the authority of the clergy was exerted with success in supplying the defect. Every clergyman being bound to instruct and examine his parishioners, the utility of schoolmasters for the instruction of youth, as auxiliaries to the clergy, became ap-

parent. At the annual visitation of parishes by presbyteries and provincial synods, the state of the schools formed one subject of uniform inquiry; the qualifications of teachers were tried, and means were used to place the elements of knowledge within the reach of the poor.

Parish-schools attracted the attention of James the Sixth and the Privy Council in 1616; and his exertions in favour of these infant institutions may be justly regarded as one of the most beneficial and memorable acts of his government.

In 1633, the act of Council of 1616 received the sanction of the Parliament. But the support of these infant establishments was still precarious; as it was left to the benevolence and the voluntary contributions of the heritors and the parishioners. A legal provision was made by the Parliament, in 1646, for the maintenance of a school in every parish throughout the kingdom, for the express purpose of educating the poor,—a law which may challenge comparison with any act of legislation in ancient or modern times, whether we consider the wisdom of the ends in view, the simple but efficient means employed, or the provision made to render these means efficient to their purpose.

Though the Parliamentary statute has been eventually of great benefit, it would have been of little utility without the exertions of the church courts; and, owing to the looseness of its enactments, it was long evaded by many, who, insensible to the benefits of education, grudged the smallest expense for the sake of promoting it.

The moral influence of this national institution began to be felt about the period of the union; and it has decided experimentally a question of legislation of primary importance, —whether a system of national instruction for the poor be favourable to industry and good government? A short period before the union, it was estimated that there were in Scotland one hundred thousand vagrant mendicants, immersed in vice, and as ignorant as pagans. A singular remedy was then proposed—the revival of domestic slavery, conformably to the practice of the Greeks and Romans. A remedy more consonant to humanity was happily supplied, which has proved effective in the silent lapse of a century: The same Parliament which resisted the imposition of a tax for the maintenance of the poor, conferred upon the country another gift, in establishing a system of instruction to imbue the mind with knowledge, to inspire it with the love of industry, and the desire of an honourable independence. That act was passed in the reign of William and Mary, which ordains

that there shall be a school and a schoolmaster in every parish, with an annual salary of from one hundred to two hundred merks Scots.

The peace and security which succeeded the union, were favourable to the extraordinary change from ignorance and sloth to industry and good morals, which has since characterized so honourably the peasantry of Scotland. In the reign of George the First, the British Legislature enacted, that, of the monies arising from the estates forfeited in 1715, 2000*l.* Sterling should be converted into a capital stock, the interest of which to be laid out in erecting and maintaining schools in the Highlands.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, incorporated soon after the union, has for many years applied a large portion of its funds to the same benevolent purpose. Though humble in their appearance, the schools of this Society have been extensively useful, by diffusing a taste for knowledge among the lower classes, and teaching them to rank education among the necessaries of life.

Notwithstanding the immediate operation of parish-schools extends but to a small part of the community, their influence reaches the whole: They are the parent stock from which our varied and more extensive institutions for education, and the greater share of our national virtue, have sprung. Since the education of the peasantry is of paramount importance, —as the roots of national habits and prejudices are not to be eradicated by the compulsion of laws, but by the slow operation of education, which bears so strongly on the morals and happiness of society,—it is incumbent upon all who are placed in the elevated ranks of life, who possess the means, whose influence is so powerful, and whose example is so attracting, to encourage the diffusion of knowledge, to stimulate and countenance the laborious exertions of public teachers who are engaged in an honourable and useful capacity; so honourable, that none should be more highly esteemed, if they are faithful in the discharge of their duty; and so useful, that none effect more good in society than faithful preceptors.

By a recent act of the Legislature, the salary of parish-schoolmasters, which, from the depreciation of money, was become insufficient for their decent maintenance, is fixed at a sum not less than 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d*, nor more than 22*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.*, with a small house and garden; but where there are more schools than one maintained by the legal provision, the salary is not to exceed 33*l.* 6*s.* 7*d*.

Almost every Scottish peasant makes some proficiency in reading, writing, and accounts; and it is not uncommon to find numbers, even in country parishes, who have acquired a respectable portion of classical and philosophical learning. The value of education is well understood. This is particularly exemplified by the exertions made by parents to give their children an education suitable to their station of life, and often far above it. Hardy, enterprising, and industrious Scotsmen are to be found in quest of employment or of fortune in every quarter of the globe; and they generally carry along with them their steady and sober habits. How the diffusion of knowledge and good morals has elevated the character of the Scots, is not unhappily expressed in the following panegyric. "The once neglected Caledonia—the country from whose lakes and rivers and mountains the Romans retired with disgust—is at this day a land of less crime, because of more intelligence, than any in the world. Wherever its name is mentioned, literature hails it; wherever its people tread, temperance and industry attest their presence; peace and plenty meet upon its plains; and the laurels which its genius and heroism have won are entwined with the palm-leaf of virtue and religion."

Although the Scots have derived the greatest benefits from education, and their character by that means is exhibited in the best light, it is perhaps rating their advantages too high to ascribe the peculiar excellence of their national character solely to that cause. "Education," says Addison, "when it works upon *a noble mind*, brings to view every latent virtue and perfection, which, without such helps, would never make their appearance." The admirable traits of character, and the valuable habits which, by means of education, have been brought to view, may be observed, though less distinctly, before there was any established system of education in the country. Many centuries have elapsed since the governments of foreign nations preferred Scotsmen to situations requiring the greatest trust, honour, and firmness. Urbanity and integrity were characteristics of that people when education was far from being general. There are upwards of 8000 schools in Ireland; but their influence on the morals of the peasantry is comparatively small, because they are oppressed and neglected, nourishing a spirit of hatred and revenge, and in a state of poverty which no education can remove. Between the higher and lower orders in Scotland, there are cordiality, mutual confidence, and support, to which many other nations are unhappily strangers. It behoves the higher orders to

endeavour, by protection, by kindness, and by example, to preserve those principles and relations which have been so honourable to Scotland, which form the basis of good education, and without which education is unavailing.

There are in Scotland four colleges or universities. Those of St Andrew's, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, were founded during the reign of Popery, by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and designed for the education of churchmen. The university of Edinburgh was founded in 1580, by James the Sixth; Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1593. In many of the large towns there are academies, where the various branches of mathematics and philosophy are taught. There are about 950 parochial schools, attended by 54,200 scholars, with an annual revenue of 20,600*l*. There are 212 endowed schools not parochial, attended by 10,200 pupils, with a revenue of 13,700*l*.; of unendowed day-schools there are 2479, attended by 112,200 scholars; and of Sunday schools there are 800, attended by 53,000 of both sexes.

LITERATURE.

The local circumstances of the Scots, with the inauspicious influence of national poverty, precluded them from an early participation in the advantages of science and literature. The progress of learning is to be traced from the south to the north of Europe. The proximity of England to France, a country in which learning flourished at an early period, was extremely favourable to the former in the cultivation of knowledge. Scotland was then less fortunate. Situate at a great distance from the seat of the Roman government, the causes which contributed to secure its freedom tended at the same time to prolong its barbarity.

While Paganism prevailed in Britain, the Druids were the only class of men that were comparatively enlightened. Of the extent of their knowledge it is impossible to form an accurate conception, as no part of their learning was committed to writing.

The first alphabet introduced into common use in Britain was probably the Roman: Its introduction may be referred to the period of the Roman colonization of England, and to the dissemination of Christianity in Scotland.

There is an intimate connexion between the literary and ecclesiastical history of the Scots. For many centuries, the

Culdees were the teachers of Christianity, and also of literature in Scotland. When ignorance and barbarism overspread the Continent of Europe, learning found a sanctuary among the disciples of St Columba, in the island of Iona. By their skill and diligence, the Scots are said to have made rapid advances in literature; although it is very probable that no small share of the praises given to them is due to the Irish; for Hibernia, for several centuries, was denominated Scotland.

But the celebrated school of the Culdees, which had instructed the regions of North Britain, gradually disappeared under the ravages of barbarity. The school established at Abernethy but ill supplied the place of the learning of Iona. The piratical ravages of the Danes, with the consequent barbarity, forbade the cultivation of letters; even the few scholars who appeared were attracted to the seminaries on the Continent. Until the importation of foreign scholars by David the First, learning became stationary; no scholar appeared, memorable for any literary endowment, except Turgot, a monk of Durham, who became bishop of St Andrew's.

Richard, prior of St Victor at Paris, is the most ancient author that can with apparent justice be claimed as a native of Scotland. He flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. He was a profound theologian, as tradition reports; for he was the first writer who maintained that the Virgin Mary was free from original sin. Adam, a canon regular, commonly known by the name of *Adamus Scotus*, was the contemporary of the prior of St Victor. Some of his theological works are still preserved. Early in the thirteenth century, appeared John Holybush, a renowned philosopher and mathematician. During the same century, Michael Scot also flourished,—celebrated for his profound and extensive learning: He is said to have studied at Paris and Oxford; where he attained to great proficiency in philology, mathematics, natural philosophy, and theology, besides a respectable portion of classical learning.

John Duns, *the Subtle Doctor*, flourished in the early part of the fourteenth century. His works maintained an unrivalled reputation till the scholastic theology and philosophy were exploded. Next appears Francis Mayron, known by the appellation of the *Acute Doctor*. He is reported to have studied under the *Subtle Doctor;* and he soon acquired the reputation of a celebrated schoolman. John Bassol, or *the Methodical Doctor*, and John Suisset, *the Calculator*, were the scholars of the Subtle Doctor. These are the principal

Scottish philosophers that preceded Mair the historian. Although they cannot be ranked among those who have extended the boundaries of true science, it is gratifying to the feelings of Scotsmen to ascertain the rank which their lettered countrymen maintained in past times among other competitors in the same field.

The most ancient of the Scottish poets was Thomas Lermont, called *the Rhymer*; who is still familiar to the common people of Scotland as a poet and prophet. He flourished in the reign of Alexander the Third. The history of his life and writings is involved in impenetrable obscurity; but he is mentioned in his prophetic character by many of our early writers. About a century after the Rhymer, flourished Barbour, the contemporary of Chaucer. He was educated for the church. In his poem which celebrates the exploits of Robert Bruce, he has evinced the genius of a poet: Besides, the general fidelity of his narrative is unquestionable. Andrew Winton, prior of St Serf, in Lochleven, in his metrical *Oryginal Cronykil* of Scotland, has given an interesting picture of ancient manners. His work is valuable, as a specimen of the literary attainments of our ancestors, and as a repository of historical anecdotes.

Before the revival of learning in their own country, the Scottish youth who thirsted for literary knowledge were under the necessity of studying at some foreign university. The schools of Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris, seem to have been those which they chiefly frequented. To facilitate the wishes of her countrymen, Dervorgil, the daughter of Allan Lord of Galloway, and the wife of the elder John Baliol, founded and endowed a college at Oxford, which, it may be presumed, was open for the reception of Scotsmen. David Murray, bishop of Murray, founded and endowed a college at Paris, in 1326. This institution is generally known by the name of *the Scottish College* of Paris: It was soon attended by students from every district of Scotland.

For some years prior to the institution of the university of St Andrew's, public lectures were delivered in that city, on the canon law, philosophy, and logic: But, as Lord Bacon observes, "the schoolmen having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, but small reading either of nature or of time, did, out of no great quantity of matter, and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon itself, brings forth, indeed,

cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."

The university of St Andrew's was the earliest, and continued long to be the most celebrated academical institution in Scotland. Classes were opened there in 1411. Pope Benedict the Thirteenth issued a bull founding the university, and five other bulls securing its rights, in 1413. For two centuries afterwards, almost all the eminent men who appeared in the country were connected with it either as pupils or as teachers. It was formed on the model of the colleges of Paris and Bologna. Its members were divided into nations,—namely, Fife, Angus, Lothian, and Albany. Their studies were philosophy, canon law, and divinity.

The erection of this university may be considered as marking the first dawn of learning in Scotland, notwithstanding the limited course of education, and the imperfect mode in which it was conducted. The first professors had no salaries: They subsisted chiefly on small sums received from the students at their admission and graduation. James the First patronized the newly-erected university, after his return to Scotland,—confirming its privileges by a royal charter, and rewarding the most distinguished professors with civil offices or ecclesiastical preferment.

The illustrious Bishop Kennedy founded, in 1450, the college of St Salvator's. It was named in honour of the Saviour, and consisted of thirteen members,—the principal, the licentiate, the bachelor, four masters of arts, and six poor scholars; who taught theology, logic, and metaphysics. The professors were distinguished for learning, and were liberally supported.

Another college, St Leonard's, was erected in the same place, by Prior Hepburn, in 1512. It was intended for the education and support of twenty poor scholars. Of this college two things are remarkable,—the reformed opinions obtained an earlier and more extensive reception in it than in the rest of the university; and, by the vigilance of its patrons and the diligence of its professors, although it retained the name of *the College of Poor Clerks*, it attained so great celebrity that it numbered among its students many of the sons of the nobility and gentry.

St Mary's, or the New College, begun under the Beatons, was finally erected by a Papal bull in 1554, "to the praise of God, the defence of the faith, the increase of learned men, and the salvation of the souls of the King, his predecessors and successors, the Archbishop of St Andrew's, and all the

faithful." Nine professors, eight students of theology, sixteen students in philosophy, with other inferior officers, were appointed to deliver lectures on those studies which were then in repute. The college was provided with ample funds: It had the power of conferring degrees in all the faculties. The defence and increase of the Catholic faith was one declared object of the erection of all the colleges; "to oppose the heresies and schisms of pestiferous heretics and heresiarchs," who had sprung up in those times. Yet within a short period "the pestiferous heretics" obtained possession of the places and funds which had been destined for their extirpation. The Protestant sentiments had for many years been spreading in all the colleges of St Andrew's, and the majority of the professors embraced them.

The university of Glasgow was established by Pope Nicholas the Fifth, at the solicitation of Bishop Turnbull, in the year 1450, as a "general study for theology, canon and civil law, the arts, and every other faculty." Three years after, the Papal bull was confirmed by a royal charter from James the Second.

It would seem, from the records of the university, that, from the want of salaries to the professors, there was no stated or regular teaching in the higher faculties. Occasional lectures were delivered by zealous individuals, on the canon law and theology; but their continuance depended on the caprice of the hearers, whose attendance on them was optional. Greater attention was paid to the inferior branches of science, which were taught at an early period. The number of students was inconsiderable. Bishop Elphinston, Chancellor of Scotland, and founder of the university and King's College of Aberdeen, Cardinal Beaton, and John Knox the reformer, were educated at Glasgow.

From its peculiar constitution, the university of Glasgow suffered more from the change of religion at the Reformation, than either of the other Scottish universities; because the superior professors being ecclesiastics, and supported by their church livings, which they held by their adherence to Popery, successors to the professors could not be appointed, owing to the total want of salaries. Notwithstanding a royal grant in 1563, and a subsequent endowment from the local magistrates, the whole of the annual funds did not amount to more than three hundred pounds Scots. The consequence was, that the students gradually dispersed, until the classes were completely broken up.

King's College, Aberdeen, was established about the year

1500. Hector Boece, a native of Dundee, having studied at Paris, and acquired great reputation as a scholar, was appointed the first principal. All testimonies concur in the description of his literary attainments; of which, indeed, his productions are a sufficiently honourable testimony. His merit acquired the friendship and correspondence of Erasmus, the scholar and the wit; whose letters addressed to Boece are still extant, and sufficiently attest the estimation in which he held his correspondent. Erasmus describes him as a man of extraordinary felicity of talents and natural eloquence.

The writings of Aristotle were then, and for many years after, the only text-book in all the sciences taught in the Scottish colleges; and the professors' lectures were properly comments on his several treatises of logic, rhetoric, ethics, and physics. But the professors were unacquainted with the original language of their oracle; for they used a Latin translation in reading and commenting upon his works.

An academy or grammar-school seems to have been attached to the Scottish colleges, for instructing the younger students in the Latin language, preparatory to their admission into the philosophical classes. John Vaus, professor of Humanity, Aberdeen, was the author of the first grammatical treatise which is known to have been published by a native of Scotland.

The cultivation of literature was not neglected by the Royal house of Stuart. Several monarchs of that family were themselves emulous of literary distinction. James the First having received an excellent education at the court of England, was a most successful cultivator of letters, and a generous patron of his learned countrymen. His poetical reputation has stood the test of many ages: He was undoubtedly possessed of real genius; and his share of acquired knowledge appears to have exceeded that of his most learned subjects. Such of his compositions as have escaped the ravages of time, are entitled to high commendation. He excelled in serious as well as in ludicrous poetry. The most celebrated of the poems ascribed to him is "Christis Kirk of the Grene." The unfortunate James the Third, by his devotion to the elegant arts, was more adapted for the cloister than the throne.

One great event occurred in the reign of James the Fourth, —the introduction of the typographical art into Scotland.*

* The first edition of the English Bible printed in Scotland, came from the press of Bassandyne and Arbuthnot, in folio, in the year 1579. It

The court of this monarch was frequented by Dunbar, besides several other poets of eminence. The reign of the Fifth James is more conspicuous in the annals of literature. Knowledge began to be more generally diffused; and that spirit of investigation was excited which displayed itself with such vigour in the Reformation. The Latin compositions of Boece and Wilson, and the poems of Douglas, Lindsay, and Bellenden, in the Scottish language, exhibit favourable specimens of the taste and genius of that age. Of these writers, three were dignitaries of the Scottish church: Gawin Douglas was bishop of Dunkeld; Bellenden was archdeacon of Murray; Boece was canon of Aberdeen and principal of its university.

Alarmed at the danger to which their establishment was exposed by an almost total neglect of learning, the Scottish prelates exerted themselves to save their tottering church, by procuring respectable and intelligent teachers. In 1522, the abbot of Cambuskenneth applied to the college of St Victor, near Paris, for some scholars; but with what success, is unknown. "We stand in need of nothing," said he, "so much as of an accession of learned men. Although, in former times, learning abounded in our monastery, yet at present it is almost completely extinct." At that time, and for a considerable period afterwards, the state of learning among the monks was wretched, and their libraries were poor: The only persons who patronized or cultivated literature in Scotland were Protestants. They have been unjustly accused of waging war against literature, by destroying the valuable books and records which had been deposited in the monasteries;—they were disposed to search for them among the rubbish, and preserve them with the utmost care. The feeble and procrastinated efforts of the clergy were ineffectual to preserve the influence of the church over the minds of the people; but they did not recede without resistance. Some of its more learned members had recourse to the rational weapons of argument, in verbal and written disputations. As in these attempts they were seldom successful, they had recourse to the sword or the faggot as the last argument. Numbers of learned men saved themselves by flight. England, Denmark, Germany, France, and Portu-

was ordered to be sold at 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Scots per copy. By act of Parliament, every gentleman householder worth three hundred merks of yearly rent, and every yeoman and burgess worth 500*l.* Scots, were ordered to have a Bible and Psalm-book in the Vulgar language in their house, under the penalty of *ten pounds* Scots.

gal, afforded them an asylum. Foreign universities and schools enjoyed the benefit of their talents; for few of these exiles ever returned to their native country. To maintain their authority and to preserve those corruptions from which they derived their wealth, the Catholic clergy would willingly have driven into banishment all the learned men in the kingdom, and quenched for ever the light of science.

In Scotland, the reformation of religion and the restoration of letters went hand in hand. The Reformation had the most powerful influence, direct and remote, on the general promotion of literature. It induced the learned to study with the greatest care the Greek and the Hebrew. The Greek language began to be studied as soon as the light of truth dawned upon Scotland. After the establishment of the Protestant church, the first school for teaching the Hebrew language was opened and taught by John Row. He was educated at St Andrew's, for the law; went to Italy, received the degree of *doctor of laws* from two Italian universities; was honoured with the notice of two sovereign pontiffs; and, upon his return, from ill health, to his native country, he was appointed Papal nuncio, for the purpose of suppressing the new opinions. But his constancy was shaken by an attentive examination of the Scriptures: He embraced the Reformed opinions, and was ordained minister of Perth.

The return of Buchanan from exile, about the same time, promoted the interests of literature. That accomplished scholar, since his flight in 1538, had visited the most celebrated seminaries on the Continent, which increased his learning, and gave ample proofs of those talents which, in the opinion of posterity as well as his contemporaries, have placed him at the head of modern Latin poets. The reception which he received from his countrymen evinced that they were not incapable of estimating his merits; and the satisfaction with which he spent the remainder of his life among them, after he had enjoyed the society of the most learned men in Europe, sufficiently proves that they had made considerable advances in the study of polite literature.

The indignant spirit which roused the Scots to spurn at the tyranny of the Romish superstition, produced likewise a more rigid examination of the general principles of government, and induced the study of political science. Buchanan, who united a transcendent genius to extensive and elegant learning, was the first scholar who caught from the ancients the flame of republican principles. He published a tract, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, in which the principles of popu-

far politics and the maxims of a free government are delivered with freedom and enforced with energy; but so different from the doctrines which till then had been commonly taught were the principles which it unfolded, that a violent ferment was produced. That tract, as well as the author's celebrated history, was, after his death, proscribed by a statute of the Scottish Parliament. While religious controversy was keenly agitated in Scotland at the æra of the Reformation, the academical exercises in the universities were interrupted, and the number of students diminished. In 1559, the Faculty of Arts at St Andrew's were under the necessity of superseding the public exhibitions usual at graduation. King's College, Aberdeen, was not attended by twenty students in 1562.

Although, at the Reformation, the Roman Catholic faith and worship were superseded in the Scottish colleges, the mode of teaching, and the academical exercises, so far as related to philosophy or the arts, were for some time stationary. A petition was presented to the Queen and Lords of Articles, in 1563, "in name of all who within the realm desired that learning and letters should flourish," stating the decay of learning at St Andrew's, the dilapidation of the college revenues, and praying that measures might be taken to remedy these evils. An investigation was consequently instituted; and Buchanan, who was one of the commissioners, presented a plan for remodelling the course of studies. But a stop was put to academical reform, during the civil war between the adherents of the King and Queen; till, in 1579, the General Assembly prevailed upon the Parliament to ratify a new form of instruction to be observed in the universities.

The university of Glasgow was the first Scottish seminary that was thoroughly reformed. This meritorious but arduous task was executed by Andrew Melville,—an individual to whom Scotland owes a heavy debt of respect and gratitude. Such was his zeal for the advancement of letters, that he set himself with incredible labour to the execution of a plan, in the formation of which he had availed himself of the most approved practices that he had seen in the foreign academies.

This course of study was completed in six years. It comprised Greek, logic and rhetoric, mathematics and geography, moral and natural philosophy, universal history and chronology, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, and theology. While engaged with his pupils in these studies, he read with

them the most celebrated classics of Rome and Greece. It was the established practice in all the universities at that time, for the professors who began a class to continue with it, and to conduct his students through the whole course of studies. As soon as Melville had trained or procured proper coadjutors, that practice was superseded. His nephew James Melville was the first professor in Scotland who read the Greek authors to his class in the original language.

Melville's fame soon spread through the kingdom. Students resorted to Glasgow from all quarters, and numbers who had been graduated at St Andrew's were ambitious to attend his lectures. Of the distinguished individuals who were educated under Melville, the following may be mentioned. Patrick Melville, professor of Hebrew at Glasgow and St Andrew's; Andrew Knox, successively bishop of the Isles and of Raphoe in Ireland; Duncan Nairn, the first professor in the college of Edinburgh under Principal Rollock; Archbishop Spottiswood; Sir Adam Newton, tutor to the Prince of Wales; besides several baronets who attended the court of James the Sixth.

The settlement of Melville at Glasgow forms an æra in the literary history of Scotland. The study of letters introduced by the Reformation had suffered a severe check from civil disorders. Discouraged by want of patronage, many learned men abandoned their academical labours, or left the kingdom; and though attempts had been made to reform the old mode of teaching in the universities, they failed, from want of energy in the Government, and from aversion on the part of the teachers to reform. A new impulse was given to literature by the high reputation of Melville's character—by his enthusiasm and success. In a short time, other seminaries were stimulated to follow the example of Glasgow; and the spirit which was awakened displayed itself in the erection of new universities in different quarters of the kingdom.

The universities of St Andrew's, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, having been founded by bishops, were erected in the chief cities of their respective sees. Edinburgh was not an episcopal seat, and was therefore unprovided with an university. An attempt was made to supply this defect by the magistrates of that city, in concert with the local clergymen, at the establishment of the Reformation; but it was thwarted by the bishops,—who were jealous of the reputation and prosperity of the seminaries placed under their care. The university of Edinburgh owed its erection to the fall of Episcopacy. In 1583, by the encouragement of the magistrates and other

public-spirited individuals in the metropolis, who built apartments for the accommodation of professors and students, classes were first opened under the patronage of the Town-Council and the sanction of a royal charter. From the support given by individuals and public bodies, and from the number of students that resorted to the new college, it soon began to rival the most respectable of the older establishments.

In 1581, a proposal to erect a college in Orkney was laid before Parliament; but it was frustrated by those who had gained possession of the revenues of that diocese. Sir Alexander Fraser of Phillorth laid the foundation of an university and college within the town of Frazersburgh, Aberdeenshire, in 1592. Five years after, the Parliament sanctioned the undertaking. A principal was chosen and installed; but the opposition of the Earl of Huntly, and subsequent distractions produced by the introduction of Episcopacy, occasioned its ruin.

Marischal College, Aberdeen, was erected about the same time; and was originally endowed for a principal, three professors, and six bursars. By the benevolent efforts of private individuals and the exertions of its professors, it speedily attained reputation and eminence. The erection of so many colleges about the same time, evinces the zeal which was kindled for literature—that a general and strong passion for literary pursuits was felt throughout the nation.

Another important and interesting fact, is the number of foreign students who at this period attended the Scottish universities. No instance of this kind had formerly occurred. On the contrary, it was a common practice for Scotsmen, upon finishing their education at home, to go abroad and prosecute their studies at a foreign university: But after the revival of letters in Scotland, this practice became gradually less frequent, and few went abroad except for the study of law or medicine. If students in languages, the arts, or divinity, left Scotland, it was to teach in some foreign seminary. Though St Andrew's was the chief resort of foreign students, yet many attended at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. During the latter half of the sixteenth century, the average number of students that attended at St Andrew's, both natives and foreigners, did not exceed two hundred.

Of the Scottish writers who flourished during the sixteenth century, the following hold a distinguished place. Florence Wilson; whose skill in Latin composition has been eulogized

by his learned contemporaries. Henry Scrimger, professor of civil law in the college of Geneva; who was an able civilian and a profound philologer. He prepared editions of Demosthenes, Strabo, Polybius, Athenæus, the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, and the philosophical works of Cicero. Of these prepared editions, none were ever published.

Edward Henryson, professor of law in the university of Bourges, was equally celebrated as a civilian and as a Latinist. Alexander Hales, professor of divinity in the university of Leipzic, was driven thither by the persecution which prevailed in Scotland. His classical attainments were highly respectable, and recommended him to the friendship of the celebrated reformer Melancthon. Beza regards him as one of the principal ornaments of Scotland. Bale, bishop of Ossory, was the intimate friend of Hales and Knox; to whom he dedicated a portion of his works. Robert Rollock, the first principal of the university of Edinburgh, was the author of various theological works, and was esteemed as a pious and learned man.

Fullerton and Hamilton, two Scotsmen, opened a classical school in Dublin, which gained them so much reputation, that they were admitted to professorships in Trinity College; and they contributed to the celebrity which the university of Dublin quickly acquired. Archbishop Usher, the most learned man of his age, was educated by them. Fullerton was knighted, and lived at the court of James the Sixth; Hamilton was created Earl of Clanbrissel. Classical or grammar schools were greatly multiplied about the same period, and superintended by persons of no mean attainments. Hercules Rollock and Alexander Hume, who were successively at the head of the High School of Edinburgh, were eminent scholars, and rendered important service to the cause of literature.

The prevailing passion for classical studies appears from the erection and endowment of several classical seminaries by private individuals.

In the department of jurisprudence, Sir John Skene, Clerk-Register, gained some eminence. He published an edition of the acts of Parliament from James the First, and a collection of the laws and constitutions of our elder princes, in Latin and English. The *De Feudis* of Sir Thomas Craig was the first regular treatise on law composed in Scotland; and is written with great elegance and in a philosophical spirit. William Wellwood, professor of civil law, composed the first treatise on maritime jurisprudence which appeared in Britain.

According to the statement of the elder Scaliger, who visited Scotland about the middle of the sixteenth century, there was only *one* regular practitioner in medicine; though they must have multiplied considerably by the end of that century. At that time, and even at a much later period, the medical students of Scotland studied at foreign schools. Hume of Godscroft, an early and intimate friend of Melville, was extensively acquainted with ancient and modern languages, theology, politics, and history.

Poetry was generally cultivated about this period. In richness of imagery and elegance of diction, Montgomery carried away the palm from all his contemporaries who wrote in the Scottish dialect. The Scottish poets contested the prize of poesy with the English till the appearance of Spenser and Shakspeare. For a considerable period, the lyric poets of Scotland carried away the palm from the greatest of the English lyrists.

The Scottish poems of James the Sixth, though more remarkable for their number than their excellence, are not so despicable as to exclude his name from the literary annals of his country. Whatever estimate may be formed of his moral qualities, he possessed a respectable portion of learning; and he was engaged in controversies or connected by personal attachment with many distinguished individuals who at that time adorned the republic of letters. He devoted his attention both to poetry and theology; and he was weak enough to seize every opportunity of displaying his scholastic attainments.

When only in his twenty-first year, he challenged a learned Jesuit to a solemn disputation in the palace of Holyrood-house. He failed to convince his opponent of the errors of Popery; but he discussed the points in controversy with such ability, that his hearers appeared to be filled with astonishment. He thenceforward acquired the reputation of a learned monarch, and was known by the appellation of *Solomon the Second*. It is not generally known, that James, during his nuptial visit in Denmark, visited the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe. The interview was mutually agreeable. James presented him with several gifts, and celebrated his excellencies in Latin verse.

Besides a treatise on dæmonology, in which he appears the abettor of superstition and cruelty, James published his *Basilicon Doron*, or instructions to his dearest son Prince Henry. After his accession to the English throne, he engaged in a conference with a deputation of the Puritans.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, though reputed wise and grave, enraptured with the King's knowledge and sagacity, declared he was verily persuaded that "the King spoke by the spirit of God." A variety of controversial writings emanated from his pen. During his latter years, he began a version of the Psalms: He lived to complete only the first thirty.

It has been asserted, that his chief attachment to men of letters arose from the selfish little principle of vanity. Addison has remarked, that James "made very few bishops or privy counsellors who had not signalized themselves by a clinch or a conundrum." His learning and pedantry gained him more applause from his contemporaries than posterity seems disposed to award.

The union of the crowns of Scotland and England was very inauspicious to the literature of Scotland. When other nations were beginning to discontinue the use of Latin in works of taste, and to make trial of the strength and compass of their own language, the Scots, deprived of all the objects that refine or animate a people—the presence of their prince, the concourse of the nobles, the splendour and elegance of the court—sunk into dejection. The court being withdrawn, no domestic standard of propriety and correctness of speech remained. The few compositions that Scotland produced were tried by the English standard; for, by the accession, the English became the sole judges and lawgivers in language, and rejected as solecisms every form of speech to which their ear was not accustomed; and the Scots, riveted to their ancient prejudices, disdained or possessed not the means to refine their own tongue by the English standard.

After the union of the crowns, it became fashionable for our poets to write in the English language; but neither their number nor success is considerable. Of those who have been allowed to possess considerable merit, may be enumerated Alexander Earl of Stirling, whose taste was correct and manly; and Drummond of Hawthornden, whose writings continue to be admired in the present age of refinement. In the department of Latin poetry, our countrymen maintained an eminent station among the scholars of the age. Andrew Ramsay, professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, was a writer of no mean attainments.

But the most distinguished successor of Buchanan in the poetical department, was Dr Arthur Johnstone, a writer whose purity of diction and suavity of numbers have procured him a high reputation. Many other Scotsmen who

flourished about the same period, distinguished themselves by their Latin poetry. The enthusiasm with which Latin poetry was cultivated is an extraordinary circumstance in the history of our literature. Divines, lawyers, physicians, country gentlemen, courtiers, and statesmen, devoted themselves to this difficult species of composition, and contended with each other in the various strains which the ancient masters of Roman song had employed. The principal poems in the collection entitled *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum* were written at this time, and published soon after. When James first visited Scotland in 1617, several congratulatory poems were presented to him, composed by merchants or tradesmen of Perth. If this was not the classic age of Scotland it was the age of classical literature in it; for at no subsequent period of Scottish history were the languages of Greece and Rome so successfully cultivated, or the beauties of their poetry so deeply felt and so justly imitated. Andrew Melville, Sir Thomas Craig, Sir Robert Ayton, Hume of Godscroft, John Johnston, and Hercules Rollock, attained the greatest excellence in this branch of literature.

In all schools and colleges, the use of the vernacular tongue was prohibited: From the age of six to sixteen, the youth spoke, and heard nothing spoken, but Latin.* In their ordinary conversation, as well as in their epistolary correspondence, Latin was the mode of communication among the learned: They chose to write in it in preference to their native language. Although many disadvantages resulted from the neglect of the vernacular tongue, the advantages derived from the intense study of the Greek and Latin were numerous and important. The refinement, the science, with which modern Europe is enriched, the display of those treasures then laid open and rendered available, must be traced to the revival of ancient literature. Even the attention paid to those studies, though it retarded the refinement of modern languages, contributed ultimately to carry them to a higher pitch of cultivation than they would otherwise have attained.

One of the most elegant and accomplished scholars of the seventeenth century is William Bellenden, professor of humanity in the university of Paris. His posthumous work

* So recently as 1745, when the Hessian troops were quartered in Atholl, the commanding officers, who were gentlemen of learning, found Latin a ready means of communication at every inn: The landlords addressed and welcomed their guests in Latin. Even in the remote districts of the isles of Skye and Harris, classical education was general.

alone, *De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum*, which extends to eight hundred and twenty-four folio pages, displays the highest ingenuity and industry. The apparent object of that ponderous work is to combine in an historical form such of the observations and sentiments of Cicero as relate to the religious and political affairs of Rome. This bulky volume is only a fragment of what the learned author intended to execute. Seneca and the elder Pliny are supposed to be the other two of the three luminaries of Rome whom he had in view.

Dr Thomas Dempster, professor of humanity in the university of Bologna, supported the reputation of Scottish literature at this period. His writings display vestiges of an uncommon erudition; but his questionable veracity, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," in which he records a list of fabulous Scottish authors and saints, ranks him no higher, as a historian, than Hector Boece. It was not uncommon for the English historians of the same age to embellish their narratives with tales which it is presumed they did not seriously believe. Dr George Mackenzie is a literary historian of a still inferior class: His work is the most shapeless mass of inert matter that ever solicited the attention of the learned world.

Robert Baillie, principal of the university of Glasgow, was perhaps the most learned ecclesiastic of the Presbyterian denomination. Woodrow extols him "as one of the greatest men in his time, and as an honour to his country, for his profound and universal learning, his exact and solid knowledge, his acquisition of twelve or thirteen languages, and the elegance of his Latin style, which would not dishonour the Augustine age." Sir George Mackenzie has written on a great variety of subjects, and with considerable ability. His name will always be remembered with gratitude for his institution of the Advocates' Library; which was at first a private foundation for the use of that learned body the Faculty of Advocates, but which has now become a public benefit. Though few Scotsmen excelled at this time in philosophical learning, it was not altogether neglected by them. Robert Balfour, principal of Guyenne College, Bourdeaux, wrote a commentary on the philosophy of Aristotle. As a scholar, he was well qualified for his task, being profoundly skilled in the Greek and Latin languages. A system of logic, the work of Dr Mark Duncan, principal of the college of Saumur, has been noticed by the learned in terms of high commendation. Dr Robert Baron, professor of divinity in Marischal College, Aberdeen, composed several philosophical

and metaphysical works, which have been admired for their perspicuity and acuteness.

Of the most eminent theologians of this period, mention may be made of Cameron, Baron, Forbes, Leighton, and Burnet. Cameron was a theologian of consummate erudition: He made such progress in classical learning, that he was appointed professor of Greek in the university of Glasgow at the age of twenty. He is said to have spoken that language with fluency. His works are numerous, and replete with erudition; particularly his elucidations of the literal and grammatical sense of many passages in the Scriptures which he professes to illustrate.

Dr Baron of Aberdeen was the friend of Dr Arthur Johnstone. His works, which have been frequently reprinted, display acuteness and extensive learning; and he was the ornament of his university when it abounded with men of ingenuity and learning. Dr John Forbes was professor of divinity in King's College, Aberdeen. His talents and acquirements gained him the cordial approbation of the most eminent scholars of his time. The name of Leighton, archbishop of Glasgow, is well known: He enjoyed a well-founded reputation, not only for his accomplishments as a scholar, but for his amiable character as a man. His English, as well as his Latin style, is entitled to considerable praise: He had the greatest command of pure Latin; and his English compositions are still popular. The character of Bishop Burnet as a theologian, has long been eminent. Besides a number of minor productions, he published "An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England." He left, in manuscript, "The History of his own Times; with an account of his life." He wrote likewise a monitory and expostulatory letter to Charles the Second, on his personal and political vices. The monarch, after perusing it twice, threw it into the fire; but he never forgave its author.

During the civil war, the study of classical learning was absorbed in the ecclesiastical and civil controversies of the times; and after the light of science had once dawned upon the Scots, they seemed to be fast retrograding into ignorance and barbarity. Religious fanaticism advanced with hasty steps during the usurpation of Cromwell. The honours of learning were for a period deemed impious; and the practice of conferring degrees was exploded as savouring of heresy. Though the Revolution inspired the nation with political vigour, the ecclesiastical arrangements which followed were not very conducive to the interests of literature.

The reign of Charles the First was the age of learned divines; the reign of Charles the Second was the period of great lawyers in Scotland, as the reign of James the First had been the age of learned lawyers in England. The regular study of medicine may be dated from the opening of the College of Physicians in 1681. A few years after, Sir Robert Sibbald acquired great reputation in the study of natural history. Alston and Hope have subsequently prosecuted their botanical researches on scientific principles. About the same time, the Newtonian philosophy was introduced into the schools of North Britain.

From the period of the union, the prosperity of Scotland has rapidly advanced. The happy coalescence of the kingdoms has not only enhanced the opulence of the nation, but also afforded our countrymen a favourable opportunity, in a season of dignified tranquillity, of exercising their native ingenuity. Literary pursuits have been attended with the most brilliant success; and Scotland can number among her sons men of the profoundest knowledge and the most exquisite taste, distinguished by their science, and by an original boldness and freedom of thought and discussion.

A few respectable names appear in the annals of Scottish literature during the early part of the eighteenth century. Andrew Fletcher investigated political subjects with freedom and boldness, and communicated his sentiments in a style more pure and elegant than that which any of his countrymen had acquired. To great professional abilities, Dr Pitcairne united the accomplishments of a scholar. Arbuthnot, the friend of Pope and Swift, is an author of varied excellence, of great comprehension, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient literature, and able to animate his mass of knowledge by a bright and active imagination. The philological abilities of Ruddiman, and his acquaintance with the circle of critical learning, are generally acknowledged.

Of the aspiring characters who, among our countrymen, have emerged from the lowest station of life, few will be found to have attracted a larger portion of celebrity than Allan Ramsay. From the humble calling of a wigmaker, which he soon abandoned for that of a bookseller, he raised himself, by the energy of his genius, to reputation and affluence. His principal literary exertions may be placed between the years 1718 and 1730. He enjoyed the protection and friendship of several of the more distinguished of his fellow citizens; and was generally regarded as a poet whose genius reflected honour on his native country. Several of

the Scottish nobility and gentry patronized his muse; and his intercourse with contemporary poets was pretty extensive.

Ramsay is said to have established the first circulating library in Scotland. His enterprising spirit prompted him to build, at his own expense, and to supply with a proper company of performers, the first theatre of which this kingdom could boast. This, however, proved an unfortunate speculation. The act for licensing the stage passed in the ensuing year; and the magistrates of Edinburgh commanded him to shut the house. He was one of the few poets who have been equally successful in literature and in trade. His latter years were spent in ease and affluence—in the enjoyment of dignified repose.

As a poet, Ramsay has been alternately the object of hyperbolical praise and unmerited censure. He was undoubtedly possessed of superior talents; which were, however, debased by his predilection for humour of the lowest species. In physical indelicacy, his works may be allowed to rival those of Swift. His faults must be partially attributed to the peculiar constitution of his mind, to adventitious circumstances, and to a defective education. His songs exhibit striking inequalities: Some of them display uncommon beauties; others are composed in a strain of uninterrupted vulgarity. The chief support of Ramsay's fame is his celebrated pastoral the "Gentle Shepherd;" in which he has exhibited rusticity without vulgarity, and elegant sentiment without affectation. It is full of natural description and tender sentiment: The characters are well drawn, the incidents affecting, the scenery and manners lively and just, and the fable has more probability than any other pastoral drama.

The publication of "Thomson's Seasons" forms a new æra in Scottish literature. Latin poetry had been cultivated with little assiduity for a considerable time. The appearance of the Seasons therefore served to rescue the nation from the discredit into which it was apparently sinking. The genius and delicacy displayed in the poems of this admired author, have secured him the approbation of every reader of sensibility and taste.

Mallet, the contemporary of Thomson, was a poet of considerable ingenuity. He has not, however, secured the admiration of posterity: Notwithstanding his poetical works are admitted into our English collections, they are now little read. The fame of Armstrong rests on his chief and truly meritorious work the "Art of Preserving Health;" which is

ranked among the best of modern didactic poems. He contributed the description of the diseases, at the conclusion of the first part of Thomson's excellent poem the "Castle of Indolence,"—diseases so finely personified, that they conduct that enchanting allegory to all the moral it requires, and to all the effect it could admit of, from the contrast of grave and severe with gay and voluptuous images. The poems of Wilkie, Blair, and Logan, are above mediocrity.

The fame of Falconer as a poet is sufficiently established by his poem of the "Shipwreck." The subject was new, and eminently capable of poetical effect; and the originality, pathos, and versification of this poem, have secured for it a place among the standard and popular productions of the British muse. Not only the subject of the Shipwreck, but the fate of its author, who is supposed to have perished by the same species of calamity which he has described, bespeak an uncommon partiality in its favour.

Dr Blacklock, a poet and a minister of the church of Scotland, though blind from his infancy, was distinguished by his proficiency in classical literature, as well as in the various branches of knowledge for which the age is distinguished. His productions as a poet are marked with an elegance of diction, an ardour of sentiment, and a glow and a propriety of description. What is particularly remarkable, is the accurate and beautiful description of visible objects with which his writings abound.

Dr Beattie is distinguished as an excellent poet and an essayist. His philological and critical essays are the most pleasing of his prose works. As a critic, he has been preferred to Blair. Without the severe and chaste dignity of Blair's prose, he is more animated, more diffusive and unequal, more illustrative, and more entertaining. Beattie's poem of the "Minstrel" has been classed among the finest poetical compositions which Scotland produced in the last century. Its general characteristic merits are an unaffected elevation and sweetness of sentiment, terse and comprehensive description of rural scenery, and a style of pure and transparent simplicity.

The unfortunate Fergusson wrote some good poems in the Scottish dialect. He possessed the sensibility and fancy of a poet. His works are of unequal merit,—some of them excellent, others below mediocrity. It is in the composition of his poems in the Scottish dialect that his efforts have been most successful. Several of these effusions are very popular; which is a strong proof of their intrinsic merit. They exhibit

sprightliness of thought and a facility of expression; the versification is always smooth and sometimes highly melodious. He inherited from nature a strong sense of the ridiculous: His talent for delineating humorous and ludicrous scenes has been rarely exceeded. As a Scottish poet, Fergusson is to be classed with Ramsay, Burns, and Macneil.

His character was soon eclipsed by the genius of Robert Burns,—who, as a poet, without accomplishing any work of extensive or complicated design, has exhibited all the variety of poetical powers which can enter into the greatest works, the conduct of a plan only excepted. His humour in delineating Scottish character and manners, unfortunately for his name, depends upon a language which is fast expiring; but, as long as it remains intelligible, the gayety and the unsophisticated charm of his pictures from rustic life will be deeply felt and admired by his countrymen. As a poet, he is superior to Ramsay and Fergusson. In composing his songs, particularly his amatory poetry, he has adapted the Scottish melodies to so appropriate words, that he seems to discover by intuition the thoughts most adapted to the music. In comparing the different faculties of his mind, his feeling predominated beyond his fancy. He was alive to every species of emotion. He at once excelled in humour, in tenderness, and in sublimity.

In the composition of fictitious history, Arbuthnot, Smollet, and Moore, have evinced great versatility and genius. The few poetical compositions which have proceeded from the pen of Smollet, are distinguished by many beauties. His "Ode to Independence" is one of the best lyric poems in the English language.

But the finest pieces of fictitious history in the English language, or perhaps in any other, are the late admirable productions by the author of "Waverley." By the force and truth and vivacity of his descriptions, this most singular and original writer has evinced his transcendent genius. He excels more especially in the dramatic scenes, which he has sketched with great felicity and effect. In all his works there is a happy conformity to nature and truth; even in the marvellous parts of his story, he contents himself with copying from actual existences rather than from the phantasms of his own imagination. The general brilliancy and force of colouring, the ease and spirit of design, and the strong touches of character of this writer, are admirable. There is, besides, such a rich store of Scottish phraseology and expression, with characteristical national traits, in these productions, that the

language, however it may be disused in ordinary discourse, cannot perish, but must be secured and made permanent in those never-to-be-forgotten productions. One of the most distinguishing peculiarities of the author of "Waverley" is, that beginning, as he does, with some satirical theme, he never fails to raise out of it some feeling of a gentle or generous kind; and to end by exciting our tender pity or deep regret for those very individuals who seemed at first to be brought on the stage for our mere sport or amusement: Thus making the ludicrous itself subservient to the cause of benevolence; and inculcating at every turn, and as the true end and result of all his trials and experiments, the love of our kind, and the duty and delight of a cordial and generous sympathy with the joys and sorrows of every condition of man. His writings have made an æra in our literature as remarkable and as likely to be remembered as any which can yet be traced in its history.

No learned nation of Europe has furnished so small a proportion of philological compilations from which modern scholars derive such advantage as Scotland; yet it is believed that the Scottish writers have excelled in philosophical criticism more than in philosophy. The number of translations from the Greek and Latin produced in Scotland is extremely small: Our countrymen submit to mere literary drudgery with great uneasiness and reluctance.

In polite literature, the names of Blair, Kaimes, Beattie, and Campbell, are the most conspicuous. Blair was the first professor who taught in any of the Scottish universities the principles of rhetoric with eminent success; and though his lectures display little originality, they are regarded as a judicious introduction to critical studies. Kaimes's "Elements of Criticism" present us with the first regular attempt to confer on criticism the solidity and dignity of a science. His work is distinguished by an original mode of thinking, and his positions are delivered in precise and simple language. The "Elements of Criticism" will ever be regarded as a literary wonder by those who know how small a portion of his time it was possible for the author to allot to the composition of it, amidst the imperious and multifarious duties of an active and useful life. Campbell and Gerard, with a sounder philosophy, and Beattie with a more lively relish for the sublime and beautiful, followed soon afterwards in the same path; and have all contributed to create and diffuse over this island a taste for a higher and more enlightened species of criticism than was known to our forefathers.

Scaliger and Grotius have pronounced the genius of the Scottish nation to be philosophical. When true philosophy began to be disseminated with the writings of Bacon, the political state of the Scots was unfavourable to profound and laborious investigations.

It deserves to be remarked, as a circumstance which throws considerable light on the literary history of Scotland during the latter half of the eighteenth century, that, from time immemorial, a continued intercourse had been kept up between Scotland and the Continent. To all who were destined for the profession of law, an education at either a Dutch or a French university was considered as almost essential. The case was nearly the same in the profession of physic.

The constant influx of information and of liberality from abroad which was thus kept up in Scotland, may help to account for the sudden burst of genius which to a foreigner must seem to have sprung up in this country by a sort of enchantment soon after the Rebellion of 1745. The great step *then* made was in the art of English composition.

The metaphysical philosophy of Scotland, and indeed the literary taste in general which so remarkably distinguished this country during the eighteenth century, may be dated from the lectures of Dr Francis Hutcheson on ethics, delivered in the university of Glasgow. While Dr Hutcheson's reputation as an author and an eloquent teacher was at its zenith in Scotland, Mr Hume began his literary career, by publishing, in 1739, his "Treatise of Human Nature." Although at that time it attracted little or no attention from the public, it forms a very important link in the history of Scottish literature; as it has contributed, directly or indirectly, more than any other single work, to the subsequent progress of philosophy and literature.

Though strong indications of the same speculative spirit may be traced in earlier writers, it was from this period that Scotland, after a long slumber, began again to attract general attention in the republic of letters. Hume had cultivated the art of writing with much greater success than any of his predecessors, and had formed his taste on the best models of English composition. The influence of his example seems to have been great and general; and was in no instance more remarkable than in the style of his principal antagonists; all of whom, in studying his system, have caught in no inconsiderable degree the purity, polish, and precision of his diction. Hume's philosophical speculations roused the attention of the learned to the study of ethics and metaphysics.

Campbell, Smith, Reid, Gerard, Beattie, Kaimes, with other ingenious men, who abhorred his infidelity or admired his sagacity, were induced, by discrepant motives, to cultivate moral science.

The genius of the Scots has been most happily displayed in historical compositions. Lord Hailes's "Annals of Scotland" is an elaborate and valuable work. "It is in our language," says Dr Johnson, "a new mode of writing history, which tells us all that is wanted, without laboured splendour of language or affected subtilty of conjecture." Hume and Robertson may be ranked among the greatest historians that ever appeared in any country. Hume's "History of England" is a highly pleasing performance. The beauty of his diction and the interest which his elegant turn of thought imparts to the course of events described, render it on the whole the most pleasing book of English history in our language, and does high credit to the country which gave birth to its author.

As a historian, Robertson has united, to a luminous arrangement of his materials, a matchless skill in adorning them, with an equal degree of industry and exactness in tracing them to their original sources. In the art of narration, his skill is preëminent; perhaps in this art his chief and characteristic excellence consists. To distinctness, perspicuity, and fulness, with which he uniformly communicates historical information, he occasionally adds a richness of colouring; and blends the lights of philosophy with the appropriate beauties of his narrative, by connecting with the view of political transactions an examination of their effects on the manners and condition of mankind. Another excellence of the highest order conspicuous in his historical works, is the continuity which unites together the different parts of his subject, by the address and felicity displayed in his transitions. It is this last circumstance, says Dugald Stewart, which, in historical composition, evinces more than any thing else the hand of a master.

Malcolm Laing, who has pronounced Dr Robertson "the most faithful of historians," is himself a historian of the first rank. His composition is perhaps less splendid than that of Dr Robertson; but his language is always concise and pointed; he evinces great acuteness of research and cogency of argument; his acuteness and integrity in the investigation of facts and in the estimate of authorities have never been surpassed by any historian; the spirit of his work is manly and independent; and he uniformly appears a zealous advocate

for civil and religious liberty: He examines the principles and tendencies of different and opposite kinds of action with impartiality, and he delivers his decisions with judgment and dignity.

The Histories of Philip the Second and Third, by Doctors Watson and Thomson, are works of great merit. They record the history of Europe during the period of those reigns, and exhibit the events which tended materially to change the relative situation and importance of the various states of Europe. Dr Adam Ferguson's History of the Roman Republic, and Gillies's History of Greece, are works of considerable learning and repute.

In the mathematical sciences, Scotland, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, was never, from the time of Napier, left behind by any country in Europe. That illustrious individual was the inventor of the logarithmic calculation,—an invention which, more than any other, has contributed to extend the boundaries of knowledge, and to multiply discoveries in all the branches of natural philosophy. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that the philosophy of Newton was publicly taught by David Gregory at Edinburgh, and by his brother James Gregory at St Andrew's, before it was able to supplant the vortices of Descartes in that very university of which Newton was a member. It was in the Scottish universities that the philosophy of Locke, as well as that of Newton, was first adopted as a branch of academical education.

To the Gregories succeeded the Keils; who pursued the same scientific career. Then appeared Stewart, Maclauren, Simpson, and Playfair, universally respected for scientific attainments.

One of the greatest works that appeared in Scotland during the eighteenth century, is Dr Adam Smith's "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations." Before the appearance of this elaborate and useful publication, Sir James Stuart, with several other authors in this country, had written on commercial affairs; but Smith was the first that reduced them to a regular form. The great aim of his inquiry is to direct the policy of nations with respect to one most important class of its laws,—those which form its system of political economy; and he has unquestionably had the merit of presenting to the world the most comprehensive and complete work that has yet appeared on the general principles of any branch of legislation. He successfully demonstrates, that the most effectual means for advancing a people

to greatness, is to maintain that order of things which nature has pointed out, by allowing every man, as long as he observes the rules of justice, to pursue his own interest in his own way, and to bring both his industry and his capital into the first competition with those of his fellow citizens. A supplemental volume to Smith's work, ably executed by Mr David Buchanan, has recently appeared.

There is no medical school in the world of so great and deserved celebrity as that of Edinburgh: Students are to be seen attending it from all quarters of the globe. In the annals of medical science, the names of Pitcairn, Alston, Arbuthnot, Munro, Rutherford, Sinclair, Culleh, and Gregory, will hold a permanent and conspicuous place.

Of living merit, although it is hazardous to speak, it would be unpardonable to omit the name of Sir Walter Scott: whose talents are universally admired, and whose fame will be coeval with the annals of his country. The life of John Knox and of Andrew Melville by Dr M'Crie, are by far the best pieces of historical writing that Scotland has produced these many years: They afford amusement and instruction: they are extremely accurate, learned, and concise, and at the same time full of spirit and animation,—exhibiting a rare union of the patient research and sober judgment which characterize the more laborious class of historians, with the boldness of thinking and force of imagination which are sometimes substituted in their place. Mr Dugald Stewart and the late Dr Thomas Brown have made large and valuable contributions in moral science.

Notwithstanding the Scots have excelled in erudition, science, and art, it is not a little surprising that their dramatic poets have seldom attained a high degree of excellence. In dramatic poetry, they must yield the palm to the great dramatists of England,—who, by a rare felicity, have surpassed the writers of every other nation. Dramatic exhibitions were among the favourite amusements of our ancestors. They were denominated *mysteries*, from the circumstance of their being commonly founded on the more mystical passages of Scripture. Hence they were regarded as acts of devotion, and performed in churches on the Sabbath-day.

In the relics of the ancient Scottish drama which have been preserved, a very slight degree of attention seems to have been paid to probability. Allegorical and real personages are blended together; and few traces are discoverable of dramatic incident. Latin dramas were composed by na-

tives of Scotland; but it is uncertain whether any of them were ever represented in that country. Ramsay, Thomson, Mallet, Armstrong, and Home, are the modern dramatic poets that have appeared in Scotland.

IMPROVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE.

While the feudal system continued in its vigour, land was considered rather as a source of power than of revenue. Even in a year of abundance, all its produce was consumed upon the spot. This produce was obtained by the unskilled and desultory labours of men whose utmost object was to secure the means of subsistence, and whose regular employment was war.

The miserable huts of these retainers were crowded around the castle of their chief. The arable land in the neighbourhood was kept constantly under corn crops; and beyond it, a large tract was occupied in common, chiefly in the pasturage of lean cattle. In these circumstances, even the little improvement which might have been effected by the superior industry of a few individuals, was effectually interdicted by the nature of their occupancy. It was deemed a matter of justice and expediency to interchange every year their small arable possessions, which were occupied in separate ridges or patches, intermingled and unenclosed; and no sooner were the crops carried off, than all the arable land, as well as the pasture, was laid open to the flocks and herds of the whole hamlet.

It was not till after the accession of James the Sixth to the English throne, that *revenue* rather than *power* became the object of the Scottish barons. To support their rank at the English court, it was necessary to raise their rents to the utmost. Yet the melioration of the peasantry was very slow. In the Highlands, the original system subsisted in undiminished force till the Rebellion in 1745; and even at the present time, it has undergone but little change in several parts of that remote district.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the extreme inconvenience of the agricultural system attracted the notice of the Scottish Legislature. The feudal servitude in which it originated, seems to have existed no longer, at least in the Low-country. Accordingly, by two separate acts in 1695—the one of them authorizing the division of commons, and the other the separation of property—both these impe-

diments were almost entirely removed. There is scarcely any instance of commons now to be found in Lowland counties, except such as belong to a few royal boroughs;—all of which, as well as the crown lands, were exempted from the operation of these highly beneficial enactments.

Though by these laws, and by the previous regulations concerning tithes, established in 1633, the Legislature of Scotland had removed the greatest obstruction to agricultural improvements, yet their progress during the first fifty years of the last century was exceedingly slow, even in the South-eastern counties,—in others, scarcely perceptible. Very little skill, capital, or industry, was to be found among professional farmers; and the ignorance of the true principles of political and rural economy which prevailed among the landholders themselves, and their inveterate attachment to a system of connexion with the tenantry which should combine revenue and power, opposed the introduction of those necessary articles from other quarters, and the growth of them upon their own estates.

The practice of agriculture had received but little improvement in Scotland till about the year 1770. Commons had been divided in several counties; and the old mode of occupying arable land in detached allotments had fallen into disuse; but the ancient distinction between *infield* and *outfield* was still preserved. The *infield* received all the manure that was collected at the farm-stead; and was kept constantly in tillage, most commonly under a succession of corn crops, though a crop of pease was occasionally interposed.

Upon some of the most convenient spots of the *outfield* division, which was usually the larger of the two, the sheep and cattle were confined during the night in temporary folds; and after the soil had been thus a little enriched, it was cropped with oats every year, until its produce would no longer defray the expenses of tillage and seed.

The only crops extensively cultivated at this period, were oats, big or bear, and pease. Wheat and barley were confined to a few districts. On those soils which have since been rendered so productive by means of turnips and clover, the culture of wheat was seldom or never attempted. Neither of these green crops had then entered into the common rotations of farmers in any part of Scotland. Potatoes had been introduced from Ireland about the end of the seventeenth century: But they had been seldom tried in the fields; and the present improved mode of cultivating them in drills was unknown.

The operations of husbandry were conducted in a most irregular and desultory manner. Intense labour for a few weeks at seed-time and harvest was succeeded by a long period of indolence. The chief occupation during the summer months was providing fuel for the winter; and in that dreary season, little more was expected of the ploughman than to provide straw enough for the maintenance of the horses and cattle from day to day.

The implements used in agriculture were of a very inferior description; and even with these, the husbandman was scantily supplied. Wheel-carriages were seldom used, as the roads were generally impracticable for them; corn and all other articles being carried on horseback. Four horses or oxen were yoked to the plough; sometimes a pair of each, but most commonly four oxen and two horses. Between town and country, very little intercourse subsisted; for the disposable produce for the consumption of towns was neither abundant nor of the first quality; and every family, with the assistance of the tradesmen of the nearest village, manufactured all its linen and woollen cloths from the raw materials produced on the spot. A very general prejudice existed against any innovation on the established routine, as fraught with ruin. Hence, before the middle of the last century, the only valuable improvements were executed by the landholders themselves.

In 1723, some enterprising proprietors, who had introduced the culture of turnips and clover upon their personal farms, formed themselves into an association, under the title of "The Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland." This Society existed only for twenty years. In 1784, the Highland Society was established. It procured a royal charter of incorporation, three years after; and upon the restitution of the forfeited estates in 1789, it obtained 3000*l.* from the Government to extend its influence and exertions.

Though the primary attention of this Society was directed to the improvement of the Highlands, it has for many years assumed the character and functions of an agricultural society for Scotland. It has been aptly compared to one of our own native rivers; which has its rise indeed in the Highlands, but which, increasing as it flows, fertilizes and improves Lowland districts at a distance from those less cultivated regions whence it originally sprung.

The objects to which the labours and assistance of this Society have been directed, are the improvement of agricul-

ture and the encouragement of manufactures and commerce. The example of the Highland Society has been followed by agriculturists in different parts of Scotland. Numerous associations of landed proprietors and farmers have been formed, for the purpose of improving the breed of cattle and horses, encouraging the invention and improvement of the implements of husbandry, besides the training of ploughmen.

Of those who have thus meritoriously laboured to promote the internal improvement of Scotland, the most unqualified praise is due to Sir John Sinclair; whose industry has accumulated a mass of information adapted to instruct the statesman and the political economist, as well as the humblest cultivator. The Board of Agriculture, established in 1793, and which the honourable baronet had the merit of originating, has brought to view a multitude of interesting facts on almost every topic connected with the internal economy of Britain, dispelled the most obstinate prejudices, and excited a spirit of inquiry and enterprise which form a striking contrast with the contented indolence and almost invincible apathy that prevailed in former times. The success attending these meritorious labours is highly gratifying. While the cultivators of almost every part of Europe have continued stationary, forming the lowest order of society, the Scottish farmers have emerged from sloth and indigence, and now participate largely in that general improvement to which their knowledge and industry have liberally contributed.

The best proof of the excellence of our husbandry, is the amount of the surplus produce obtained from a soil seldom naturally rich, and situate under a rather ungenial climate. This is indicated by the revenue of the landholders, which is paid from the liberal profits of judicious expenditure. Nor has the landholder been the only gainer: The profits of the farmer and the wages of the labourer have, till of late years, increased in perhaps an equal ratio.

The circumstances have been briefly stated by which the improvements in Scottish agriculture have been facilitated,—by which the agriculturist has been incited to draw from his lands the most valuable crops, consistently with preserving and increasing the fertility of the soil, and to adopt those arrangements that are most eligible for securing economy of labour and capital.

The introduction of turnips and clover has effected a great improvement in almost every degree of husbandry. By this means, those inferior soils which it was impossible to cultivate with profit under the old system of successive corn crops,

have been rendered productive. Even on land of a better quality, the crops which succeed turnips are much more abundant than could be otherwise obtained. In those parts of Scotland where turnips are not yet extensively cultivated, the cattle are frequently half starved during the winter; and when that season is unusually severe, numbers of them perish by famine. It is well known that one acre of clover and rye-grass will fatten more stock than ten acres of natural pasture.

Potatoes were first cultivated in the fields in Scotland in the year 1739. In the West country, where there is a numerous population, and where the farms are small, potatoes are cultivated to a considerable extent; but on the East coast, where husbandry has made the greatest progress, they do not enter largely into any rotation of crops, except near great towns. In some places, they are given with great advantage to horses and other sorts of live stock; but the manure which they require, and their great bulk in proportion to their value, are deemed serious objections to their extensive culture.

The potato-oat is said to have been discovered growing in a field of wheat, in Cumberland, in 1788; and from the produce of a single grain, those large and productive crops have been raised which are now to be found throughout all the Northern counties of Britain.

In all the Lowland counties, the old practice of taking consecutive crops on the same field has been abolished, by the cultivation of turnips, clover, drilled beans or pease and potatoes; and the order in which the crops succeed one another, is varied by the diversity of the soil, climate, and situation. It is the alternation of white and green crops with fallow, and the advantage of tillage and pasturage, which peculiarly distinguish the improved husbandry of Scotland: The fertility of the soil is neither locked up by permanent pasture, nor dissipated by perpetual aration.

A corresponding improvement has taken place in the application of lime, and the preparation and management of farm-yard dung.

It has been doubted whether the skill of the Scottish farmer in the management of live stock has kept pace with the improvements in tillage husbandry; though, during the last fifty years, the different species of domesticated animals have been greatly improved, both in form and size. The Western counties have been long famous for an excellent breed of draught-horses and of cattle for the dairy. The recently imported Merinos have already travelled as far as the Orkney

Islands; and it is probable they will soon be widely spread over the best pastures of the Highlands. Both the carcass and the wool of the Cheviot flocks have long been the objects of skilful and systematic improvement.

One of the most valuable improvements in the agricultural machinery of Scotland, was that made upon the plough in 1763, by James Small, an ingenious mechanic; whose improvement had the effect of diminishing the power required about *two fifths*, and of executing the work with much greater accuracy. The two-horse plough, nearly such as Small left it, is now almost the only one used in the best cultivated counties. By this single improvement, a sum equivalent to one pound Sterling per acre must be saved to the farmer, besides as much more as will be equal to his profit on the wasteful employment of his capital.

The thrashing-mill, an instrument more recently invented, has had a powerful effect, not only in diminishing the charges, but in augmenting the marketable produce of land. Mr Mickle, an ingenious mill-wright in East Lothian, first completed the thrashing-mill, about the year 1786; but it has since been considerably improved by him and others. It may be worked by water, wind, animal power, or steam; and the saving of labour by this machine, if driven by water, is so great, that every kind of grain is thrashed and dressed for market at an expense equal to only that of dressing when the flail was employed. A thrashing-mill, worked by water, is supposed to save at least five shillings per acre under corn, on all farms of a moderate size. Fanners, or winnowing-machines, were introduced from Holland in the early part of the last century, and they are now universally used in Scotland. The skilful construction and arrangement of farm-buildings and fences have an effect similar to machinery in abridging labour. The advantages of a central position alone of the buildings are estimated to be equal to from 100*l.* to 200*l.* yearly on extensive farms.

The liberal application of capital to agriculture in Scotland happened soon after the French Revolution, which interrupted our intercourse with the corn-exporting countries. Several unfavourable seasons occasioned so enormous an advance in the price of corn, as to furnish in abundance to many of our farmers both the means and the motives to extend cultivation; and there can be no doubt that the aid afforded by our banking establishments has encouraged a spirit of enterprise very favourable to agriculture.

The almost universal practice of holding on leases for a

term of years, has likewise promoted the rural economy of Scotland. A tenant at will is scarcely known in the Lowlands. In the best cultivated districts, it is common for a tenant to expend so large a sum in the improvement of his land, that more than half the term elapses before he is indemnified by his increase of produce.

Without the security of a lease, no tenant would invest his capital in the costly improvements of another man's property. Leases for at least nineteen years are therefore considered essential to all spirited improvements. And if our soil shall ever be brought to the highest profitable state of improvement, it must be by encouraging the farmer to invest his capital with the same security as the manufacturing and mercantile classes.

Although the extent and structure of entails appear to be obstructions to the cultivation of the soil, the act of 1770 has in a great measure obviated the injudicious restriction. That act was intended to modify that clause in the act of the Scottish Parliament in 1685, by which many possessors of entailed estates were prohibited from granting leases beyond their own lives. Such a law being in effect an obstacle to all agricultural improvement, it was altered so far as to permit the possessors of estates so entailed to give leases for fourteen years and one existing life; for two existing lives, and the life of the survivor; or for any number of years not exceeding thirty-one.

The total extent of Scotland, in English acres, is	18,944,000
Of which are partially or fully cultivated	5,043,450
Extent of plantations	412,236
Natural woods	501,469
Uncultivated	12,987,955
The total land produce is supposed to be worth	29,261,150*l.*
Rent of land in Scotland, taking it at one eighth of England, including 300,000*l.* for the fisheries	5,000,000*l.*
Dr Beeke's calculation value of land in Scotland,	120,000,000*l.*
Dr Colquhoun's conjectural estimate of productive property, in 1814	239,000,000*l.*
Unproductive property	38,000,000*l.*
Government property	3,000,000*l.*
The total number of miles turnpike-roads in Scotland	3000*l.*

The British isles contain about 76,000,000 acres; of which about 49,000,000 are in cultivation, and 27,000,000, or more than one third, are waste or uncultivated. About one half of the waste land is in Scotland; where the cultivated soil forms only twenty-six parts in the hundred of the

whole surface of the country. In England, it forms eighty-two parts, and in Ireland sixty-nine in the hundred. In Scotland, the pasture land forms one half of the land in cultivation; in England, four sevenths.

At the union, the population of Scotland was probably	1,048,000
In 1755, it was	1,265,380
In 1811,	1,804,824
In 1821,	2,092,014

The population of England appears to have been doubled in the one hundred years ending 1811; the population of Scotland has increased one half during the same time; the population of Ireland appears to have been doubled in the short space of forty-six years. The rate of increase in England and Scotland, between 1801 and 1811, was such as would have doubled the population in fifty-two years.

PROGRESS OF MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

It is a rather remarkable fact, that the manufactures of Scotland made very little progress from the demise of Alexander the Third till after the union of the kingdoms. Frequent attempts were indeed made to give an impulse to domestic industry; but these were rendered abortive by intestine discord and conflicting interests; hence, the quantity of manufactured goods never advanced beyond the domestic supply.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, the whole shipping of Scotland consisted of 93 vessels carrying 2724 tons, with 18 barks. During the usurpation of Cromwell, land was commonly sold in Ireland at *two* years' purchase. In Kircudbright stewartry, farms were then offered, by advertisement, to good tenants, *without any rent*.

In 1587, the rate of interest for money was ten per cent.; it was reduced, in 1633, to eight per cent.; in 1649 and 1661, to six per cent.; at the union, to five per cent. The Bank of Scotland was established in 1695, by act of Parliament. Its nominal capital was 100,000*l*.; but 30,000*l*. was found to be a capital quite sufficient for transacting all the banking business of North Britain. In 1696, branches were planted at Dundee, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Montrose; but the directors soon found that the profit of those subordinate banks was unequal to the charge of management. They were discontinued in two years.

For many years, the union was unproductive of those advantages which had been anticipated. Commerce languished; the jealousy of the English excluded the Scots from any participation in the colonial trade. During the interval between the two rebellions, Scotland was disregarded by the Legislature, or treated like a conquered province. It was ten years after the last rebellion that the benefits of the union began to be universally felt, and the national spirit burst forth in various directions.

The following is a brief account of the most remarkable facts illustrative of the progress of manufactures and commerce during the last century.

In 1706, there belonged to Scotland 215 ships, carrying 14,458 tons.
In 1805, ... 2281 ..... 210,295 tons.
At the period of the union, the whole export of corn from Scotland amounted to..... 22,937 quarters.
The greatest export was in 1749,..... 105,573 quarters.
The imposts in 1706, ... 1,194*l.*
..... 1801, ... 89,817*l.*
Amount of the Excise in 1706,... ..... 33,500*l.*
..... 1801,..... 833,000*l.*
Customhouse-duties, 1706, ... 34,000*l.*
..... 1801, ... 578,000*l.*
The whole amount of the revenue at the union was..... 160,000*l.*
..... in 1813,..... 4,204,098*l.*
Surplus manufacture of linen in 1706, was probably about ..... 1,500,000 yards.
..... 1801, it was..... 25,271,155 yards.

The post-office was extended to Scotland in 1711. The Royal Bank of Scotland was established at Edinburgh in 1729. During the same year, the British Parliament passed an act, impowering the crown to appoint commissioners for managing certain funds for the encouragement of the Scottish fisheries and commerce. For a considerable period, little benefit resulted from this measure.

A. D. 1742. To encourage the linen manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland, an additional duty was laid upon foreign cambrics imported; and a bounty was allowed for British and Irish linens exported.

A. D. 1747. The abolition of the feudal system is a remarkable æra in the history of Scotland. The British Legislature enacted, what should have been made an essential preliminary of the union of the kingdoms, that all the people of Scotland should enjoy the same rational liberty and equitable security of property as their fellow subjects in England. This excellent statute has been judiciously named the Scottish Magna Charta: It abolished the heritable jurisdictions,

which were purchased and assumed by the crown. The compensation granted was 152,000*l.*

The influence of liberty in promoting industry and commerce was remarkable. Emancipated from their oppressive servitude, the people gradually imbibed a spirit of independence; the purchase-money acquired by the nobles for their heritable jurisdictions, powers, authorities, and privileges, relieved them from comparative indigence, softened their manners, and insensibly changed their habits. The troops stationed in the country to prevent insurrection, enriched with their pay the mechanics who supplied them with necessaries, and excited the industry and emulation of a considerable portion of the idle and untutored natives. Even the gentry began to breed their sons to mechanical arts; and their example produced a powerful effect upon the peasantry.

A. D. 1749. The first stage-coach began to run twice a week between Edinburgh and Glasgow; but it was soon discontinued for want of employment.

A. D. 1751. The annual premiums, liberally bestowed by the commissioners since 1727, for the best manufactured linens, gradually increased a spirit of industry over all Scotland. Nor should the exertions of the British Linen Company, established in 1746, be unnoticed. That body was greatly instrumental in promoting industry, by advancing sums of money to the poorer manufacturers for their goods.

During the five years succeeding the appointment of the trustees, there were stamped for sale, 17,441,161 yards, valued at 662,938*l.*; in the four years prior to 1752, there were 30,172,300, valued at 1,234,814*l.*

A. D. 1752. For the better civilizing and improving of the Highlands, and for the promoting of industry and manufactures in that district, the Government appropriated the annual proceeds of the estates forfeited by the rebellion, to be distributed in bounties, for the establishment of schools, the encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, and the fisheries.

A. D. 1753. To encourage the spirit of industry still farther, the Government granted the annual sum of 3000*l.* Sterling for nine years for the same benevolent purpose. So great was the spirit of industry excited, that in 1760 there were stamped upwards of 11,000,000 yards of linen.

Paisley was distinguished for the ingenuity of its manufactures before the year 1759. Threads, lawns, and imitations of striped muslins, had been manufactured there; but now silk gauzes were woven. As soon as they appeared in Lon-

don, they attracted the public attention. Some gentlemen of that city established a manufactory of silk gauzes in Paisley, upon a larger scale than had been previously attempted; and so great was their success, that they soon supplied the London and foreign markets. Muslins and other articles of cotton manufacture were subsequently introduced.

The exports from Scotland, in the year 1755, amounted to 663,401*l.*
..... 1760, ... 1,086,205*l.*
The imports, ... 850,792*l.*
There belonged to Scotland 976 trading vessels, measuring 52,818 tons.

The geographical position of Scotland, surrounded nearly by the sea, indented with bays and rivers well stored with fish, presents a favourable opportunity for prosecuting the fisheries. To the Northern and Western coasts, where the herring fishery is principally carried on, and which are intersected by arms of the sea called sea-lochs, the herrings principally resort during the seasons in which they visit those seas. The herring fishery was originally carried on in small boats, before busses or small-decked vessels from sixty to eighty tons were employed. The number of fishermen engaged, as well as their success, was very considerable.

In 1750, the British Legislature passed an act, intended for the encouragement of the white herring fishery; by which a bounty of 30s. a ton was offered to the owners of fishing-vessels or busses from twenty to eighty tons burden. Yet, during the nine succeeding years, not more than eight vessels were employed in any season. By the same act, a joint stock company was erected, with a capital of half a million Sterling.

Besides the tonnage bounty, and an exportation bounty of 2s. 8d. per barrel, with the delivery of both British and foreign salt duty-free, the subscribers were entitled, during the first fourteen years, to three per cent. for the money paid into the joint stock, to be paid them by the receiver-general of the customs, in half-yearly payments. The same annuity and the same encouragement were given to a number of fishing companies which had a subscribed capital of 10,000*l.* Sterling. Notwithstanding these encouragements, scarcely a vestige now remains of those different companies; and the white herring fishery has been for many years carried on by private individuals.

The bounty was augmented, in 1757, to 50s. per ton; which excited an ardour of enterprise unknown to the rest of Scotland. Various other causes contributed considerably in producing this effect,—the commercial spirit of Glasgow,

a brisk demand in the West Indies and Ireland, besides the home consumption.

A. D. 1766. No fewer than two hundred and sixty-one busses, carrying twelve thousand men and boys, were this year employed. But the progress of this branch of industry was suddenly interrupted, by the unexpected stoppage of the payment of the bounty; the reason assigned for which was, that the branch of the Scottish revenue appropriated for that service was already anticipated for some years.

Consternation and ruin succeeded. The loss sustained by the inhabitants of Campbeltown alone was estimated at 335,000*l.* Sterling. For five years, the bounties were very irregularly paid; and though they were settled in time, many of the buss-owners had been under the necessity of disposing of their claims at a considerable undervalue, and they therefore derived not the advantage. From 1769 to 1772, the fishing rapidly declined; but the regular payment of a reduced bounty of 30s. a ton so revived the spirit of enterprise, that, in 1776, two hundred and ninety-four busses, with forty-four thousand hands, were employed. After that period, the fishing again declined during the American war.

To encourage the Greenland whale-fishery, the Legislature, in 1733, offered a bounty of 20s. a ton; and it was, in seven years after, raised to 30s., to be given to British vessels of a certain tonnage, and provided with a specified crew, stores, and necessaries. From three to six vessels only were employed until 1749. The following year the bounty was augmented to 40s. For ten to fifteen years after, a spirit of adventure was roused; but in Scotland, the whale-fishery languished for several years before 1770. From all the Scottish ports, only fourteen ships went to Greenland in 1762, and the fishing was very unsuccessful. Of this number, one belonged to Leith; two to Bo'ness; two to Anstruther; two to Dundee; three to Dunbar; one to Aberdeen; and the remainder to other ports. Only *five* sizeable fishes were secured among the whole. The English employed sixteen ships, which took *nine* fishes; the Dutch had one hundred and fifty-four ships, and *forty-three* fishes.

A. D. 1766. There traded this year to Petersburg, eighteen Scottish vessels, six Irish, and one hundred and twenty-three English. Woollen stockings to the amount of 50,000*l.* to 70,000*l.* Sterling were exported from Aberdeenshire; and coarse woollen serges from Ayrshire to the amount of 10,000*l.* About two thousand five hundred bar-

tels of pickled salmon, valued at 5500*l.* were sent from Scotland to London.

The Glasgow merchants having acquired a large share in the tobacco trade, attained likewise the art of adapting their manufacture to the colonial market. In 1765, and for several years after, they exported from eight to ten thousand hogsheads of tobacco to Holland. The quantity imported into Scotland in 1771, was forty-nine millions of pounds, of which forty-eight millions were exported; producing a gross duty of one million and a half, and a neat duty of 24,000*l.* for domestic consumption. During the American war, the tobacco trade was nearly stagnant.

The spirit of emigration to North America which prevailed in Ireland, so infected the Highlands of Scotland, that, from 1763 to 1775, about thirty thousand Highlanders broke through their strong and characteristic attachment to the land of their fathers, and crossed the Atlantic, to cultivate the waste lands and augment the military force of America. The decline of the linen manufacture contributed to render the Highlanders discontented and desirous of change.

A. D. 1771. About twenty-five and a half millions yards of linen, valued at nearly 2,000,000*l.* Sterling, were manufactured this year. Of this quantity, more than the one half was stamped. Large importations of linen were likewise made; which so glutted the market, that, during the ensuing year, many failures took place. It was given in evidence before the House of Commons, in 1774, that a part of the linen manufactured three years before still remained on hand; that the value had declined one third; and that one third of the looms in Scotland and the North of England was unemployed.

A. D. 1774. The Bank of Scotland, established in 1695, with a capital of 100,000*l.* Sterling, was permitted by the Legislature to double its capital.

A. D. 1775. This year, was abolished a species of slavery which had been a reproach to Scotland. By the statute-law, the servants employed in coal-mines and salt-works in Scotland were attached for life to their respective works. The Legislature humanely enacted, that, after the 1st of July this year, young persons might be bound during a regular apprenticeship to these employments, but no longer; and that adults in a state of vassalage should be emancipated after a short period of service. Notwithstanding the humane interposition of the Legislature, many colliers and coal-heavers continued in a state of degrading servitude, in consequence

of neglecting to comply with the terms of the act of Parliament,—till 1799, when they were declared to be absolved from all the consequences of their neglect.

A. D. 1776. In consequence of the American war, a great part of the capital that had been employed in the trade with that part of the world was thrown into the hands of bankers. About half a million Sterling was lent out on security at three per cent.,—the rate which bankers used to allow for money payable on demand. Bank stock necessarily increased in value: Some shares of the Royal Bank were sold at 215*l*; the highest price ever given before being 201*l*. But many of the Glasgow merchants soon after threw their capitals into the manufactures.

A. D. 1777. The company that established the great ironworks at Carron in Stirlingshire, in 1760, had now brought their manufactures to such perfection, that their exportation was become an object of national importance. Their great guns, which were cast solid and bored with a drill worked by the whole force of the river Carron, were exported to the Continent in such quantities, that it was deemed necessary to fit-out a stout ship, properly manned and armed, for the purpose of conveying cargoes of ordnance to Russia, Denmark, and Spain; which could not be conveyed with safety by trading vessels, on account of the American cruisers.

The Carron Ironworks are among the most extensive in Britain. There are about twenty furnaces for the various operations, which consume about two hundred tons of coals every week; and the whole works employ more than two thousand persons. All kinds of iron goods are manufactured at Carron, whether used in war or in the arts.

The advantages of a navigable communication between the Forth and the Clyde were perceived so early as the reign of Charles the Second; who, probably by his residence in the Netherlands, acquired a just idea of the value and importance of inland navigation. He proposed to have a canal executed on such a scale that transports and small ships of war might pass upon it from sea to sea: But the expense, estimated at half a million Sterling, exceeded the ability of the age.

About the time of the union, the scheme for executing a canal was again revived. In 1723, a survey was made: But the nation was not prepared to engage in a work of such magnitude; and the scheme was again laid aside. In 1768, the canal was begun, under the direction of Mr Smeaton. It was completed in 1790, at the expense of 200,000*l*. This

canal extends thirty-five miles in length; it has a rise and fall of 160 feet; it passes thirty-nine locks and two aqueducts,—one of which is 429 feet long and 65 feet high, over the river Kelvin. It carries vessels drawing eight feet of water.

The rapid progress of the cotton manufacture is unparalleled in the annals of trade. In 1767, cotton, as an article of trade, was scarcely known in this country: only 137,160 lib. were imported into the Clyde: But, in 1790, there were 1,758,000 lib.; and the average of six years from 1804 to 1810 was 6,500,000 lib. Thus, in little more than half a century, the cotton manufacture has become one of the most splendid branches of our national industry. The causes which have contributed to raise it to its present state of importance, it is interesting to trace.

The distaff and spindle, and subsequently the one-thread wheel, were long the only implements used for spinning. About the middle of the last century, when the demand for cotton goods increased, various contrivances were attempted for facilitating the spinning of cotton, with little success; until, in 1767, Richard Hargreaves, an illiterate but industrious weaver in Lancashire, made a rude machine, containing eight spindles, turned by bands from a horizontal wheel. But the most important improvement, which has made such an amazing addition to the activity, the industry, and opulence of Britain, is the invention of Sir Richard Arkwright; which consists chiefly in the substitution of machinery for the *human finger*.

With the invention of Arkwright, is very naturally associated the discovery of applying steam as a moving power to machinery, by Mr James Watt, merchant, Glasgow.

Cotton spinning by machinery was first introduced into Scotland about the year 1780. Upon the expiration of Arkwright's patent, in 1784, cotton-mills were erected in various parts of the kingdom,—at first with various success, but subsequently with great advantages to the proprietors. Besides the very great quantity of yarn produced by machinery, the quality is much finer than could be otherwise produced. As an example, one pound of fine cotton has been spun into a thread one hundred and sixty-seven miles in length. Glasgow, Paisley, and the surrounding districts, are the chief seats of the cotton manufacture.

When the cotton manufacture was introduced into Glasgow in 1786, the manufacturing of cambric-lawns and

ganzes, with the other light fabrics of linen which had grown up there in the course of the century, were gradually abandoned, and they were nearly superseded before the year 1792. In 1786, the annual value of all the manufactures of Glasgow was about 800,000*l.*; in the year 1818, it was computed that 105,000,000 yards of cotton, valued at 5,200,000*l.*, were manufactured there, and that between 13,000,000 and 14,000,000 lib. of cotton wool were used in their production.

In the spinning department of this manufacture, there are now 54 mills employed, containing 600,000 spindles. The capital invested in buildings and machinery is upwards of 1,000,000*l.* For weaving the yarn, there are 2800 looms, moved by mechanism and steam, producing weekly, 8400 pieces of cloth, besides 32,000 hand-looms.

The calico-printing business, begun about 1742, stands next in importance to the cotton manufacture. There are 18 calico printing works, some of them of great extent, belonging to Glasgow; but there has not been for some time the same amount of business carried on by these concerns as formerly, owing to the change which has taken place in the dress of the people, and partly to the circumstances affecting the general trade of the country.

As one of the appendages of the extensive manufacture of cotton and other piece-goods at Glasgow, there are 14 calender and 5 lapping-houses; containing 27 calenders moved by steam, and 8 moved by horses; which frequently calender 268,000 yards of cloth a day, besides glazing 38,400 yards, and dressing 552,000 yards.

Such is the power of our mechanical contrivances, that our merchants can bring the cotton wool from India, manufacture it into cloth, and sell the cloth again in that country at a cheaper price than the natives, with all the advantages of cheap labour and unexampled manual skill, can produce it.

At the accession of his late Majesty George the Third, the price of cottons, owing to the difficulty of producing them, was extremely high; and the value of the manufactured cottons annually brought to market did not exceed 200,000*l.* The value of cottons annually manufactured in Great Britain *now*, and either disposed of at home or sent abroad, amounts, at the very lowest estimate, to the amazing sum of 40,000,000*l.*

Since the commencement of the nineteenth century, ma-

chines for spinning flax have been erected in the counties of Aberdeen, Mearns, Fife, and Angus; and they have almost superseded spinning by the hand.

The prejudices entertained against the use of machinery by the lower orders are founded in ignorance.

The use and improvement of machinery must be decided by the principles which regulate our decision respecting the improvement of the science, ingenuity, skill, and industry of the labourer. If it be advantageous that the skill of the labourer should be indefinitely extended,—that he should be enabled to produce a vastly greater quantity of commodities with the same or a less quantity of labour,—it must be also advantageous that he should avail himself of the assistance of such machines as may most effectually assist him in bringing about this result.

It is very obvious that purchasers will prefer those articles, whether of necessity, comfort, or luxury, which are offered to them of the best quality and at the cheapest rate; and cheapness of price must depend in a great measure on the smallness of the quantity of labour by which they are produced.

By the introduction of machinery, though the rate of the workmen's wages be high, the actual sum of wages which enters into the price of any article is very low. Hence, machinery enables the manufacturer to sell his goods cheaper, and to continue the same rate of wages to his work-people. It combines a diminution of price with superiority of quality, and consequently occasions an extension of demand, of employment, and of profit. Though, by the manufacturing establishments, much wealth has been gained by the country, morality has been lost, by the indiscriminate association, in the manufactories, of men and women, who have been degraded from the virtuous simplicity of their former habits. In reviewing the circumstances of a large manufacturing community, the melancholy consideration forces itself on the mind, that the discoveries in mechanics, and the improvements in the various processes of production, should, instead of increasing the sum of man's comfort, terminate in lowering his condition.

There were in Scotland, in 1796, thirty-nine cotton-mills; in which a capital of half a million for machinery and buildings had been invested. A sum nearly equivalent was employed in the purchase of raw cotton. After deducting the expense of the raw material, the proceeds of the manufactured goods produced, for profit, wages, and revenue,

1,300,000*l.* The number of persons employed was supposed to be one hundred and eighty-two thousand.

A.D. 1785. The manufacture of calicoes was now pretty generally introduced into England and Scotland. Muslins were worked in England in 1781. Within two years after, there were above a thousand looms set up in Glasgow, for weaving the same fabric. The skill and labour of the mechanic enhance the manufacture to twenty times the value of the raw material when imported.

The revolutions in fashion and trade, occasioned by the progress of manufactures, are surprising and amusing. The current of fashion, which in Britain had run so long and so strongly in favour of French goods, now set as strongly in the contrary direction. So much were English manufactures in request in France, that the shopkeepers in that country very generally displayed the following notice over their doors,—"Warehouse for English goods." The exportation of Edinburgh-made coaches to France was an unexpected novelty. A coachmaker in that city received an order from Paris for *one thousand* carriages, to be executed in three years.

Since the year 1774, the linen manufactures had rapidly increased. In 1784, upwards of 19,000,000 yards, valued at nearly 1,000,000*l.* Sterling, were manufactured, chiefly in the shires of Forfar, Renfrew, and Lanark. In 1801, were manufactured, 25,271,155 yards.

Notwithstanding the high bounty of 40*s.* a ton, held out by the Government to encourage the whale-fishery, from seven to ten vessels only were employed in that trade from 1770 to 1777. The bounty was then reduced to 30*s.*, and a corresponding languor in enterprise succeeded. In 1782, the bounty was again augmented, and the trade gradually attracted the public attention; and though in 1787 the bounty was reduced, there were in that year thirty-one ships sent from Scotland to Greenland.

The herring-fishery of Great Britain continued in a state of progressive improvement, though the tonnage-bounty was reduced in 1787 to 20*s.* In 1798, upwards of a thousand vessels, manned by about six thousand hands, were employed in this branch of national industry.

During the nine years' peace between the American war and the French Revolution, the wealth accumulated by manufactures and commerce was chiefly invested in machinery and raw material; which greatly extended the transactions of manufacturers and merchants. The commercial distresses

in 1792 and 1793 succeeded. Failures to an unprecedented amount took place. Mercantile houses of the first respectability and of the most established credit failed. In Scotland, the pressure was most severely felt at Glasgow, Paisley, Leith, and Dundee.

By a well-timed issue of exchequer-bills for the assistance of the suffering classes, an almost instantaneous restoration of mutual confidence was produced; which in a great measure superseded the necessity of the offered relief. Only three hundred and thirty-two applications were made to the Parliamentary commissioners; and two hundred and thirty-eight obtained assistance. Though 5,000,000*l.* was placed at the disposal of the commissioners, little more than 2,000,000*l.* was required. The whole sum was repaid, and with apparent ease, by the time it became due. With so much honour and delicacy were the transactions conducted, that the names of those who made application for help were never disclosed. About half a million Sterling was lent in Scotland.

Of the public works undertaken of late years in Scotland, the Caledonian Canal deserves particular attention. When this magnificent and stupendous work shall be completed, a communication will have been opened between the Moray Frith and the Atlantic Ocean. The distance between the opposite points is fifty-nine miles; of which three navigable lakes, Loch Ness, Loch Oich, and Loch Lochy, occupy thirty-seven: There are therefore only twenty-two of land. The canal is one hundred and ten feet wide at the top, fifty at the bottom, and twenty deep, and is calculated to carry frigates of thirty-two guns. There is a rise of ninety-four feet by thirteen locks, and a fall of ninety feet by twelve. About six hundred persons are constantly employed in this great work. Previously to May 1817, about 700,000*l.* had been expended upon it; and it was then supposed that a larger sum would be necessary to complete the work.

Scotland has the glory of having produced the most of the civil-engineers who, for nearly a century, have executed the finest monuments in the Three Kingdoms, as well as the most ingenious machines,—Smeatons, Watt, Rennie, Telford, the Nimmos, the Jardines, and the Stevensons.

The annexed statements exhibit generally the present state of manufactures and commerce in Scotland.

The number of ships belonging to Scotland,	2708
Their tonnage,	231,273
Seamen,	16,300

The exports from Scotland, ... 4,740,239*l.*
Imports of ditto, ... 3,671,158*l.*
The woollen goods manufactured are supposed to be worth 450,000*l.*; of which about one third is for profit and the expense of labour.
The linens are reckoned worth 1,775,000*l.*; of which rather less than the one half is for labour and profit.
The cotton goods, perhaps more than ..... 6,964,486*l.*
Of which there is for labour and profit, ... 5,132,362*l.*
The labour and profit of inferior branches, ... 3,700,000*l.*
The annual value of all the fisheries, ... 1,300,000*l.*
..... mineral productions, ... 1,597,654*l.*
The mineral productions include coal, iron, lime, lead, &c. The great coal-field of Scotland is about six hundred thousand square acres in extent. There are annually consumed, about one hundred and seventy-two acres, or about two millions and a half of tons. The benefit to the proprietor of the coal mine is about tenpence per ton.
In 1820, the total number of gallons of spirits distilled in Scotland for home consumption was 2,167,558; of which the excise-duties amounted to 602,678*l.* 18*s.* 6½*d.*

THE END.

QUESTIONS

ADAPTED TO

Macintosh's History of Scotland.

The figures subjoined to the Questions refer to the pages of the History in which the answers may be found.

Q. 1. Who were the aborigines of Britain? Whence did they migrate? What was their origin? p. 13. When did the Romans invade Caledonia? What was the extent of that country? What was the character of its inhabitants? p. 14. Where did the Romans and Caledonians meet in battle? Who were their leaders? And what was the result? p. 15.

Q. 10. Who erected the Picts' Wall? For what purpose? What were its dimensions? By whom was Antoninus's wall built? What were its dimensions? p. 16. What other monuments of their power did the Romans construct? Which of the Emperors invaded Caledonia? p. 18. What advantages did the Caledonians derive from their intercourse with the Romans? By what was their policy chiefly regulated? Into what orders were the Druids divided? What was the character of their religion? p. 19, 20.

Q. 21. Who were the Picts? Who were the Scots? Whence did they respectively derive their names? p. 22. Why did the Romans leave Britain? p. 23. When? p. 24. When and by whom were the Picts and Scots united into one monarchy? p. 26. What foreign enemy began to make incursions into Scotland? p. 28. How many attacks did they make till the reign of Malcolm the Second? By what means were the Scots freed from their piratical incursions? p. 28—33. How many kings reigned between Kenneth the Second and Malcolm the Second? What are their names? p. 28—33.

Q. 32. What was the fate of Malcolm? p. 34. And of Duncan? p. 35. Who was Macbeth? What were his character and his fate? p. 35, 36. Who succeeded Macbeth? When? What honours were conferred on Macduff? p. 36. What English monarchs were contemporary with Malcolm the Third? p. 37, 38. What was his character? p. 39. By what means was the feudal law introduced? What change did he and his Queen introduce into the manners of the nation? p. 39, 40.

Q. 43. Who reigned between Malcolm and David? In what years did their reigns respectively commence? Why does the reign of David form an epoch in the history of Scotland? p. 41, 42. When and where was the battle of the Standard fought? Whence did it derive its name? p. 43. What event disturbed the public tranquillity? When

did David die, and what was his character? p. 45. Who succeeded him? p. 46. What bold measure did Malcolm adopt to secure the tranquillity of Moray, and with what success? When did he die, and what was his character? p. 48.

Q. 53. Who succeeded Malcolm? With what country did William form an alliance? p. 48. Where was William made prisoner? When, and how? Upon what condition did he regain his liberty? p. 49. When was Glasgow created a borough? p. 50. What memorable transaction occurred between William and Richard? p. 51. When did William die, and where was he interred? What was his character? Why did he receive the appellation of "the Lion?" p. 52.

Q. 63. Was Scotland tranquil during the reign of Alexander the Second? p. 52—54. What was his character? What misfortunes commenced with the reign of Alexander the Third? p. 55. What valuable acquisition did the Scots make? p. 56. What was the character of Alexander? Who were appointed Regents during the minority of Margaret? p. 58. Where and when did she die? How many competitors for the crown appeared? p. 59. To whom was the competition limited? To whom did they refer the decision of their claim? p. 60. Who was declared king? p. 61

Q. 74. Were the Scots successful in their efforts to throw off the yoke of Edward? What mean submissions did Baliol make? p. 63. What was the state of Scotland at this period? p. 64. What renowned champion arose? p. 65. By what exploits did he regain the freedom of Scotland? With what authority was he invested? What was the consequence? p. 65, 66. Who lost the battle of Falkirk? p. 67. How far did Edward penetrate into Scotland? p. 68. What was the fate of Wallace? p. 69.

Q. 84. When was Robert Bruce crowned? p. 71. What success attended his first enterprise against the English? Whither did he retire, and what was the fate of his friends who were captured? p. 72. Did Bruce succeed in recovering the kingdom? p. 73—75. When was the battle of Bannockburn fought, and who gained it? What was the loss of the Scots and of the English? What was the consequence of this battle? p. 76—78. Was Bruce successful in his attempts on Ireland? p. 79. With what success did the English invade Scotland? p. 80. What spirited manifesto did the Scots issue? p. 82.

Q. 94. In what manner and with what success did Douglas and Randolph invade England? How was peace restored? p. 83. What was the value of money at this period? In what year were fire-arms first used by the English? p. 84. Who succeeded Robert? What was the character of the Regent Randolph? p. 85. What success attended Baliol's attack at Methven? p. 86. Who gained the battle of Halidon? What submissions did Baliol make? What engagement did the Lord of the Isles make? p. 88.

Q. 104. What instance of courage did the Countess of March exhibit? p. 89. How were Edinburgh and Roxburgh castles taken? What cir-

cumstance displays the fierce spirit of the Scots? p. 90. Where was David made prisoner? p. 92. Describe the inroad known by the name of the "burnt Candlemas." p. 93. Upon what terms was David released? With what calamity was the country visited? p. 94. When and where did David die, and what was his character? When did the house of Stuart ascend the throne? p. 95. What were the statutes enacted by the Parliament at Scone? p. 96.

Q. 114. What exploit did Ramsay perform? p. 97. Who gained the battle of Otterburn? p. 100. What was the character and policy of Robert? Who succeeded him? Who was the Wolf of Badenoch, and of what outrages was he guilty? p. 101. What desperate conflict took place between the rival clans of Kay and Quhele? Did the spirit of chivalry predominate at this time in Scotland, and who made the most prominent figure? p. 102. What was the fate of the Duke of Rothsay? Describe the battle of Homeldon? p. 104. What was the cause of the King's death? p. 105.

Q. 124. Who was appointed Regent? When and why was Resby burned? Who was defeated at Harlaw? p. 105. When was the university of St Andrew's instituted? What was the state of the country during the government of Murdac? p. 106. Whom did Prince James marry; how long was he a captive; and upon what terms was he released? Of whom was the Scottish Parliament constituted, and what were the Royal prerogatives and revenue? p. 107, 108. What progress had the Scots made in civilization? What law exerted a powerful influence? What was the result? What was the condition and character of the nobles? What was the state of society? p. 109. Describe the dress of the different sexes: What were the weapons and the mode of war? What was the state of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce? p. 110, 111.

Q. 139. When did James first assume the government; what was his age and what was his character? What was the fate of Murdac and his sons? Were parliaments frequently assembled, and with what view? p. 112. With whom was a commercial arrangement made? What court was instituted at this time? How were the Highland chiefs restrained? What innovation in Parliament took place? p. 113. What scene was exhibited in the Highlands; and what were the particulars of it? Who was Paul Crawar; what was his fate? p. 114.

Q. 148. Who conspired against the King; and what was his fate? p. 115. Did the conspirators escape? p. 116. Why are the affairs of Scotland partially involved in obscurity during the reign of James the Second? Who was appointed Regent? Whom did the Queen marry, and why? What was the fate of the Earl of Douglas? p. 117. Was the state of the kingdom tranquil? Whom did James marry? p. 118. What singular truce was concluded with England?

Q. 157. Who founded the university of Glasgow? p. 119. What was the fate of Douglas? What were the particulars and the result of the rebellion of Douglas? p. 120. What beneficial statute was enacted?

Where and how was James the Second killed; and what was his character? p. 121. What statute passed in 1458?

Q. 163. At what age did James the Third succeed his father? What king fled to Scotland? p. 122. Who was Bishop Kennedy; and what were his fate and character? p. 123. What unhappy effect resulted to the King? Whom did James marry; and what was her dowry? What are the most remarkable particulars in the history of the Orkney and Shetland Islands? p. 123. What befel the Boyds? What municipal laws were enacted at this time? What was the character of the Scottish Government? p. 124. In what pursuits did James indulge? p. 125. What was the character of his brothers? p. 126.

Q. 174. What was the fate of the King's favourites? In what enterprise did Douglas and Albany engage? p. 127. Who formed a conspiracy against the King? Where and how was he slain? p. 128. What was the character of James the Fourth? p. 129. What attempt did Forbes and Lennox make? p. 130. What naval engagements happened at this time? How was the fishery encouraged? p. 131. How was education promoted?

Q. 183. What was the state of Scotland at this period? Who was Perkin Warbeck; and what are the particulars of his history? p. 132. When and by whom was the university of Aberdeen instituted? Whom did James marry? How was the government of the Highlands improved? p. 133. What stimulus was given to agriculture in 1457? What interest did James take in the general concerns of Europe? What means did he take to create a navy? p. 134. What amusements were exhibited at the Scottish court? What important act was introduced at this time?

Q. 193. What event occasioned an alteration in the relations with England? How did the Queen of France persuade James to engage in hostilities against England? p. 135. What means were taken to dissuade him from his purpose? How numerous were the forces of the English and Scots at the battle of Flodden? p. 136. What was the result of that engagement? What became of the King? p. 137. What was the character of his reign? What policy did Henry pursue? p. 138. In what state was the government? p. 139. Whom did the Queen marry; and by whom was she superseded?

Q. 203. How was the ceremony of inauguration performed? What was the character of Albany? p. 140. How did he treat Angus and Gavin Douglas? In what manner did the Queen receive the Parliamentary commissioners? What became of the Princess and the Queen? p. 141. For what purpose did Angus and Home form a combination? p. 142. What occasioned Albany's return to France? Into what factions was the country divided; and who supported each? p. 143. What succeeded upon Albany's return to Scotland? Whither did Angus retire? p. 144.

Q. 213. What determination did Henry express? What incursions did the English make? p. 145. Whither did the Scottish army advance? What was the result? p. 146. What occasioned Albany's final departure

from Scotland? To whom was the government committed? How did the Queen forfeit the public esteem? p. 147. How did Angus obtain the direction of affairs? p. 148. By what means was the ascendancy of England established in Scotland? To what measures had the Queen and Arran recourse?

Q. 223. What ruined the Queen's influence? What noblemen were appointed to wait upon the King? By what means did Angus ingratiate himself with the King? p. 149. Who united to depress his power? What was the result? p. 150. Who attempted the life of Sir James Hamilton; and why? p. 151. How did the King escape from the power of Angus? What are the most striking lines of James's character and government? 152. To what expedient had he recourse to counterbalance the power of the nobility? Who was appointed Chancellor? p. 153.

Q. 233. For what period was peace concluded with England? By what incident are the manners of the times illustrated? In what state was the police of the kingdom? What beneficial institution was remodelled? p. 154. Who solicited the aid of James; and for what purpose? p. 155. Of what kind was Henry's reformation of religion? What steps did he take to convert the King of Scots? Had James an interview with his uncle; and why? What law merits attention? p. 156. Whom did James marry?

Q. 243. Who were capitally punished for treason? What transactions display the ambition and cruelty of Beaton? p. 157. What policy did James adopt for enforcing submission to the laws in the Highlands? Were James and the clergy inclined to a reform? p. 158. Who formed a combination against Henry? For what purpose? What means did he adopt to counteract it? p. 159. What occasioned James's death? Had he survived, what must have happened? Where and when did he die? p. 160.

Q. 253. What spirit was diffused, and how extensively, about the beginning of the sixteenth century? What were its effects? How and by whom were the seeds of the Reformation sown in Scotland? When was Christianity introduced into Scotland? p. 161. When did the Culdees pass over to Scotland? When and where did they establish schools? Of what nature was their ecclesiastical government? p. 162. Who introduced the order of bishops? How were the Papists received by the Culdees? When did the Culdees cease to exist? What is remarkable respecting the appearance of the Lollards? p. 163.

Q. 264. In what manner was the authority of the Pope recognized? p. 163. What was the policy of the Popish clergy? What influence did they obtain over the Scots? What effects were produced by their exorbitant wealth? What opinion was diffused about the year 1000? p. 164. What was the state of learning in Scotland at this period? p. 165. When did Waldus and Wickliff appear; and what success attended their exertions? What was the state of religion at the end of James the Fifth's reign? To what cause is the Reformation to be chiefly attributed? What

was the most efficient cause? Who was Luther? What occasioned a change in his religious sentiments? p. 166.

Q. 276. What resulted from the propagation of his opinions? When did Zuingle appear; and what were his opinions? With what success did the Catholics oppose the dissemination of knowledge? Who was Patrick Hamilton; and what was his fate? p. 167. How many suffered death for confessing his sentiments? Who openly professed the Protestant faith? p. 168. What ground of quarrel had the nobles with the Catholic clergy? What auspicious event happened during the Regency of Arran? p. 169. What assistance did the Reformers acquire in Knox? What other events hastened the demolition of Popery? p. 170, 171.

Q. 286. In what manner did the Reformers display their forbearance? To what extent did their opinions spread? What effect was produced by the writings of the poets and satirists? Did the Catholics exert themselves to reform their manners? What was the last efforts made by the Popish clergy? p. 171. What do we owe to the Reformation? p. 172. Who succeeded James the Fifth? What attempt did Cardinal Beaton make? Who was appointed Regent? What was his character? What scheme did Henry project? p. 173.

Q. 297. By what means did Cardinal Beaton *disconcert it? p. 174.* On what account did Arran become an object of universal contempt? p. 175. Who were the leaders of the contending parties? What preparations did Lennox make; and with what success? In what manner did Henry interfere? When and by whose means was Cardinal Beaton murdered? p. 176. Where did Knox receive a call to the ministry? What befel Knox and the conspirators? p. 178. When was he liberated? What occasioned the battle of Pinkey; and what are the particulars of that action? p. 179.

Q. 307. Was the victory of any advantage to the English? p. 180. What ambitious project did the Queen Dowager form? For whose assistance did she apply to attain the Regency? To whom was the young Queen betrothed? p. 181. By what means was the Queen Dowager elevated to the Regency? p. 182. What designs did the French court form upon Scotland? What insult did the Queen and the Dauphin offer to Elizabeth? p. 183. What orders did the Guises send to the Queen Regent; and why? In what manner did Elizabeth retaliate? What association did the Protestant nobles form? By what violent measure did the Catholics endeavour to maintain their power? p. 184.

Q. 318. Who was Mills? How did he endure his fate; and what public feeling was excited? What ludicrous scene was exhibited at the festival of St Giles? Of what nature was the petition which the Congregation presented to the Catholic clergy? p. 185. In what manner did the Queen Regent act? How did her duplicity appear; and what was the result? p. 186. What ebullition of public feeling happened at Perth? p. 187. What character did the dispute between the Regent and the Congregation assume? In what terms did the Regent reply to the Reformers? What

was the result? p. 188. Were the attacks of the Congregation successful? To whom did they apply for aid; and to what extent was it granted? p. 189.

Q. 330. When did the Regent die; and what acknowledgment did she make to the Reformers? What was her character? Why did the French abandon their designs upon Scotland? p. 190. Of what nature were the treaties concluded at Edinburgh? How did the Congregation complete the Reformation? p. 191. What acts were passed against the Catholics? p. 192. In what light did the Queen view these proceedings? What event produced a great change in the councils of France? What occasioned Mary's return to Scotland? What affecting circumstances attended it? pp. 193, 194.

Q. 340. Were the first measures of Mary's government popular? What incident first disturbed the public tranquillity? p. 195. Whom did the Queen appoint her lieutenant? What pecuniary assistance did the Convention of Estates grant to the Protestant clergy? p. 196. What scheme was formed to drive the Protestants from the council; and by whom? What was the result? p. 197. Whom did the Queen marry? Of what duplicity was Elizabeth guilty; and what was the result? p. 198. What confederacy did Mary join? p. 199.

Q. 349. What occasioned a coldness between the Queen and her husband? p. 199. Why and by whom was Rizzio murdered? Did the murderers obtain pardon? When and where was James the Sixth born? How was Elizabeth affected with the news? Who was Bothwell; what was his character; and what influence did he obtain? p. 201. Where and how was Darnley murdered? To whom was the murder imputed? Who formed a combination against Bothwell? p. 202. Where did the hostile armies meet; and what befell Bothwell? Where was Mary confined; in what manner was she deprived of the government; and what was the consequence? p. 203, 204.

Q. 360. Who was appointed Regent? How did Mary effect her escape? 205. What was the result of the battle of Langside? p. 206. What resolution did the Queen take? Did Elizabeth treat her with kindness? What demand did she make? By what means was Mary persuaded to submit to trial? p. 207. In what was the humanity of Knox displayed? p. 208. Where were the conferences respecting Mary opened? What protest did her commissioners give in?

Q. 370. What demand did Murray make? p. 209. What charge did he prefer? What evidences did he produce? Whither was Mary removed? Did she consent to resign her crown? p. 210. By what means did she endeavour to raise her adherents in Scotland? What design did the Duke of Norfolk avow? p. 211. Who formed a conspiracy to deliver Mary? Was it successful?

Q. 379. For what purpose did Elizabeth open a negotiation with the Regent? Why was the project finally abandoned? What was the character of the Regent? p. 212. In what state were the affairs of the Church? Who succeeded Murray in the Regency? Who formed a scheme for rescuing Mary; and what were its particulars? p. 213.

What effects had these attempts on Mary's treatment? By what means was the castle of Dunbarton captured? What befell the Archbishop of St Andrew's? p. 214. Into what factions was the kingdom divided?

Q. 389. By whom and where were Lennox and his party surprised? p. 215. Who succeeded him in the Regency? When did John Knox die; and what was his character? p. 216, 217. What was the fate of Morton? p. 218. Who formed a conspiracy; and for what purpose? Whither did James escape? p. 219. Where and by whom was he captured? In what designs was Mary engaged? What project did Savage and Ballard form? To whom did Ballard disclose his intentions; and with what success? p. 220. How were these designs detected? p. 221.

Q. 400. What punishment was inflicted on the conspirators? What extraordinary scene followed? Where and by whom was Mary tried? p. 222. What verdict was delivered by the commissioners? p. 223. When was Mary executed? What was her character? p. 227. With what hypocritical conduct is Elizabeth charged after Mary's death? p. 228. By whom was the safety of Britain threatened? What was the fate of the Spanish armada? What plan of invasion did Philip next form? p. 229.

Q. 410. Who detected the treasonable designs of the Catholic nobles? What punishment was inflicted; how was the royal clemency requited? p. 230. Whom did James marry? In what state was the police of the kingdom? p. 231. In what is the ignorance of the times exhibited? Who slew the Earl of Murray; and why? What tumult ensued? When was the Presbyterian church established by law? What conspiracy was formed? p. 232. Did the conspirators escape? Into what factions was the court divided?

Q. 421. What expedient did the Queen's party adopt; and with what effect? p. 233. By what means did James introduce order into the management of his finances? 234. What occasioned a difference between the King and the clergy? What measures did the Assembly adopt? What hastened the crisis of the dispute? p. 235. What popular commotion succeeded Black's disobedience? p. 236. How did James avail himself of his ascendancy? p. 237. Upon what conditions were the exiled Lords pardoned? What petition did the King persuade the Assembly's commission to present? What was the result? p. 238.

Q. 431. How did the dispute between the King and clergy respecting the players terminate? What are the particulars of the Gowry conspiracy? What was the fate of Gowry and his brother? Is the account published by royal authority satisfactory? What is the most probable solution of this problem? p. 239—242. What measures did James adopt for introducing order and civilization into the Highlands? p. 243. When did Elizabeth die; by what was her death accelerated? What affecting scene took place in the church of St Giles? p. 244. When did James arrive in London; and how was he received by the English? In what was his natural facility displayed? p. 245.

Q. 441. What conspiracies were formed in the beginning of his reign? What measure did he propose as a preliminary to any national improvement? What frustrated the union? p. 246. What steps were taken to introduce Episcopacy? p. 247. What ecclesiastical courts were erected; and with what powers? p. 248. When did James visit Scotland; and in what manner was he received? What was the chief object of his journey? Why were the Scottish nobles alarmed; and in what manner did they express their dissatisfaction? p. 249. What practices were introduced into the Scottish church? In what manner did the clergy conduct their opposition? p. 250.

Q. 451. Did the people conform to the new ceremonies? Of what character were the measures pursued during the last years of James's reign? When did he die; and what was his character? p. 251. Who succeeded James? To what causes may the tranquillity for several years be ascribed? What unpopular measure was proposed by the King; and how was it received? p. 252. For what purpose did he revisit Scotland? What aid did he obtain? By what was the popular indignation inflamed? p. 253. Were the canons and liturgy acceptable to the nation? What occasioned the uproar in St Giles and the Gray-friars; and by whom was it conducted? p. 254.

Q. 462. Was the opposition to the canons and liturgy general? What was the origin of the tables? p. 255. In what manner was the covenant renewed? How was Hamilton received by the Covenanters? p. 256. What bold steps did the General Assembly pursue? What military preparations did the Covenanters make? p. 257. Were their efforts successful? In what manner were the fortifications of Leith conducted? To what situation was Charles reduced? Upon what terms was a truce concluded? p. 258.

Q. 472. On what account was the war renewed? Did the Scots engage in it with alacrity? p. 259. Where did the first encounter happen? Upon what terms was a cessation of arms determined on? p. 260. How can the indifference of the English be accounted for? How were the Scottish commissioners received at London? p. 261. To what articles was the consent of Charles obtained? What proceedings were instituted against Stafford and Laud? p. 262. What bold measures did the Scottish Parliament adopt? What plan did Charles adopt in the administration of Ireland? p. 263.

Q. 482. Who were the leaders of the Irish rebellion? In what manner were the English Protestants treated? What horrible devastation followed? p. 264. What remonstrance did the English Commons frame? How did Charles retaliate? Where and by whom was the standard of civil war first raised? p. 265. For which party did the Scots declare? For what purpose was the solemn league and covenant framed? p. 266. Who commanded the Scottish army; and what was their number? Who gained the battle of Long Marston Moor? p. 267.

Q. 492. By whom was the war rekindled in Scotland? In what successive actions did he defeat the Covenanters? By whom was he defeat-

ed? p. 268, 270. What religious compact was formed at London? p. 271. Whither did Charles retire; and what transactions succeeded? p. 272. What differences arose between the Presbyterians and Independents? For what purpose was Hamilton despatched into England; and with what success? Who brought Charles to a public trial? p. 273. Of whom was the court composed? In what manner did the King conduct himself during his trial and at his death? p. 274, 275.

Q. 502. Who possessed the command of the army; and at what did he aspire? p. 275. For whom did the Scots declare? With what authority was Montrose invested; and what was his fate? p. 276. Upon what conditions was Charles received by the Scots? What occasioned a war between the kingdoms? p. 277. What occasioned the defeat of the Scots at Dunbar? p. 278. Where and by whom was Charles crowned? p. 279. What are the particulars of the battle of Worcester? p. 280. By what means did Charles escape? Who obtained the Assembly? p. 281.

Q. 512. Did Cromwell succeed in uniting the kingdoms? What kind of government did he establish in Scotland? p. 282. In what manner was justice administered? When did Cromwell die, and what was his character? p. 283. By whom was the restoration of Charles brought? What was the character of his government? p. 284. By what means did he obtain absolute power? What exceptionable principle was obtained? p. 285. What was the fate of Argyll? How was the work of ecclesiastical transformation accomplished? p. 286.

Q. 522. With what powers and for what end was a Parliament and committee appointed? Why were conventicles first held? In what manner were the Presbyterians treated? p. 287. How long was this persecution continued? By what occurrence was the flame of rebellion kindled? p. 288. What punishment was inflicted on the insurgents? Of what atrocities were Dalziel and Drummond guilty? p. 289. Who corrected these measures? Under whom was a milder administration formed? What ecclesiastical measure did Leighton propose; and with what success? p. 290.

Q. 532. What was the character of Lauderdale; and what measures did he prevail upon the Parliament to pass? What effects did they produce? p. 291. Who remonstrated against these measures? p. 292. What occasioned the spirited remonstrance of the advocates? What obsolete claim was revived; and by what was it occasioned? p. 293. What was the consequence? p. 294. For what purpose were landholders required to give bonds? Of what enormities were the Highlanders guilty? p. 295. By whom and on what account was Sharpe murdered? Who were accused as accomplices?

Q. 542. Between whom was the battle at Bothwell Bridge fought? p. 296. How were the vanquished treated? What occurred at this time? p. 297. What was the fate of Cameron and Cargill? How were the Cameronians treated? p. 298. Of what juvenile folly were the students at Edinburgh guilty? What was the act of security; and how was it received? p. 299. Why was Argyll condemned; and with what view?

To whom was the government committed? What does the remainder of Charles's reign present? p. 300.

Q. 552. What cruel treatment did Campbell and Baillie endure? In what manner was justice dispensed? How were the Cameronians treated? When did Charles die; and what was his character? p. 300, 301. What instruction is to be derived from the administration of Charles the Second? Of what character was the reign of James the Seventh? What was the state of Scotland during his reign? What desperate attempt did he make? p. 302. In what declaration did the Parliament concur? How were the Presbyterians treated? Why were entails legalized? p. 303.

Q. 563. What success attended the insurrection of Argyll? p. 304. What was James's favourite object; and how did he pursue it? p. 305. What intrigues were formed against him; and by whom? Where did William land? Whither did James retire? In what manner was William received? p. 306. What was the bill of rights? How was the Revolution effected in Scotland? p. 307. How did William conduct himself in organizing the government? What were the proceedings of the convention?

Q. 573. What maxims did the Revolution introduce into the government of Scotland? p. 308. In what did the tolerant spirit of the Prince appear? To what measures did James's adherents resort? p. 309. Who fought the battle of Killycrankie; and what was the result? p. 310. What occasioned the massacre at Glenco? Who executed and sanctioned it? p. 312. Whence had the national debt its origin? p. 313. What commercial project was formed? What capital was subscribed? What was the fate of the colony? p. 314.

Q. 583. When did William die; and what was his character? p. 315. In what light is the Revolution to be viewed? When did King James die? Who succeeded William? p. 316. Was her accession acceptable to all parties? What took place in the Convention Parliament? p. 317. What change of Ministry took place? What bills did Queensberry introduce? What was the object of the act of security? p. 318. Who was Fraser of Lovat; and what are the particulars of his history? p. 319. How were the English affected by the act of security?

Q. 594. Why was a treaty of union become indispensable? How many commissioners for each kingdom met at London? p. 320. When was the last session of the Scottish Parliament held? How was the support of the Parliamentary leaders secured? p. 321. What arguments did the friends of the Ministry advance? By whom was the union opposed? What popular ferment was excited in the Western counties? p. 322. How was it allayed? How did the Duke of Hamilton conduct himself? What were the principal articles of the union?

Q. 604. When did it commence? p. 323. Why was the Privy Council abolished? To whom was its jurisdiction transferred? What laws were extended to Scotland? What did the union complete? p. 324. Has the union been favourable to public liberty? Have the national happiness and prosperity been promoted by the union? Why does the history of Scotland as a separate kingdom terminate at the union? p. 325

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